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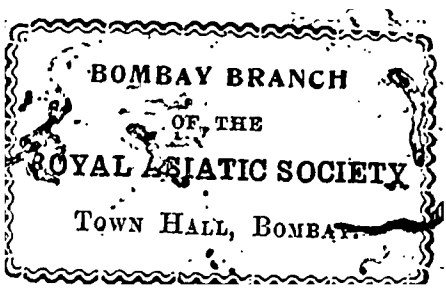

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THE HEREDITARY DOMINIONS AND CONQUESTS OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT.

With the Route to the East and the Track of the Voyage of Nearchus.

THE

HISTORY

OF

ALEXANDER THE GREAT

BY

QUINTUS CURTIUS RUFUS

Translated from the Latin

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WITH

ORIGINAL NOTES

CRITICAL AND CORROBORATIVE

INCLUDING

ILLUSTRATIONS FROM RECENT TRAVELS

AND FROM

REMAINS EXTANT IN PERSIA AND INDIA

OF THE ANCIENT NATIVE LITERATURE.

By PETER PRATT

Of the East India House.

WW-h-7

"So precisely does Quintus Curtius's description of the scene of Porus's battle "correspond with the part of the Hydaspes where we crossed, that several gentlemen "of the mission, who read the passage on the spot, were persuaded that it referred "to the very place before their eyes."—MOUNTSTUART ELPHINSTONE.

Revised Edition:

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

32335

a.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR LACKINGTON, HUGHES, HARDING, MAVOR, AND LEPARD, FINSBURY SQUARE; BLACK, KINGSBURY, PARBURY, AND ALLEN, LEADENHALL STREET; AND HATCHARD AND SON, PICCADILLY.

1821.

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QUINTUS CURTIUS

Translated

INTO

ENGLISH.

PREFACE

TO THE SECOND EDITION.

THE first edition of this Translation was published in 1809: but the sale having been slow and discouraging, more than five hundred copies remained on hand at a time when the accumulation of geographical knowledge and antiquarian discoveries, in respect to Persia and India, had left the degree of information in the Translator's *Notes* to the work, far behind the train of light which very recent travels and researches have thrown on the path of ancient literature. The present is a revised, not a new edition. In order to strengthen the claims of the Translation to public patronage, four hundred and ninety-eight pages have been cancelled and reprinted; while about two hundred pages of new materials are added: by which discriminating sacrifice, with the careful substitutions, and large accessions, three steps toward a correct and finished execution have been gained.—1. The *Errata* which blemished the original impression are removed. 2. The suggestions

of private and public Criticism have been consulted, and for the most part followed, that is, in those passages of the Translation respecting which the Translator felt this double conviction, *that they were open to considerable objection, and that it was in his power to improve the English rendering in any satisfactory degree.* If — on one side — we can range a thousand critical deficiencies, when a literary work is examined by an ideal standard of perfection; it is the office of candor to look — on the other — at the obstacles opposed to a faultless execution by the imperfections of language. The incompatible nature of many good qualities in style and composition, which, taken singly, appear to be specific excellencies easily reached, is not merely an extenuation for not embracing them all; but is a full vindication of the less ambitious course of aiming to combine the few which most kindly harmonize when they happen to meet; and letting those take flight which will endure neither companions in merit, nor divided applause; but, like bold adventurers, and presuming beauties, demand exclusive honours, as striking attractions of a contrasted character, proud of solitary habits. In revising the work, however, the Translator has discovered many palpable defects which might

be removed with decided improvement, in places where the perspicacity of criticism had not hinted any fault: nor is this to be wondered at, inasmuch as a cultivator, who has traversed a field until he is at home in it, will know more readily than a cursory spectator where the weeding-hook is most wanted.

3. Since the Translation was published, works of the first class on the history and geography of Persia and India have greatly increased the stock of authentic materials for illustrating Curtius, and other ancient classics who narrate transactions of which those countries were the theatre. The interest with which the East is regarded in England and in Europe has become more lively and intense, as the British empire has extended there; and a succession of persons of eminent talents, perceiving that the official stations which they filled, gave them more than ordinary advantages for surveying the most ancient seats of empire, have chosen Persia, and India, and the contiguous countries of Oriental Asia, as a region in which learned research, assisted with the light thrown by actual travels upon extant monuments, had much room for enterprize and achievement. Within the last twelve years,

these gentlemen have presented to the British public many valuable fruits of their respective labours, which carry the information of the Moderns on the geography of the places on which ancient history is occupied to a very advanced stage; substituting for vague conjecture much positive knowledge. The Translator cannot undertake to recapitulate *here* all the recent publications from which he has derived new illustrations, and important corroborations of his author's text: but whether he has inserted them in the shape of notes; or introduced them into this Preface, as invincible testimonies that the local descriptions of Curtius, so depreciated by closet critics, are, in the eye of travelled observers, accurate and faithful,—the authorities are annexed to the citations; and as the Reader sees the eminent names which are successively adduced, he will estimate the credit which they reflect upon the historian.

For the author's sake, therefore, and that critical justice may be attained, by comparing the words of inveterate prejudice with the things of local reality, the Translator presents a few pointed extracts, as preliminary objects for the Reader's attention.

I. Testimonies to the Accuracy of Curtius, by recent Travellers.

No. 1.

Appearance of a Persian Camp at Night.

Q. Curtius, Translat. vol. i. p. 310.

"We found the plain of Ojan entirely covered "with tents. All its avenues were covered with cattle, "which are permitted to extend themselves in quest "of pastures to considerable distances. The position "and general appearance of the camp of Darius "before the battle of Issus, as related in Quintus "Curtius, is very characteristic of a modern Persian "camp, and of what we saw at Ojan. Whoever has "seen at night, at a distance, a Persian camp, or, "indeed, a camp of any Asiatics whose immense fires "are lighted in all parts of it, will be struck with the "correctness of the similitude to a general conflagra-"tion."—*Second Journey through Persia. By* James Morier, *late His Majesty's Secretary of Embassy and Minister Plenipotentiary to the Court of Persia.* 1818. p. 277.

No. 2.

Field of Arbela.

Translat. vol. i. pp. 406, 407.

"We continued our route, as usual, through the "plain, with the Tigris on the right, and the hills "on the left; at the fifth mile was the Chaldean "village of Batma, and at the tenth that of Tilkiff. "The roads were excellent, as, indeed, they had been "since we left the defile of Zaku. The battles of

" Arbela and Nineveh must, I conclude, have been " fought somewhere between Tilkiff and the Zab, and " the spot seems as if formed by nature for the com- " bat of hostile armies. With the exception of a low " range of hills, and some gentle slopes, the ground " offers no impediment to the evolutions and move- " ments of the largest armies; and nothing can be " more accurate than the description of the country " given by Quintus Curtius."—*Journey through Asia Minor, Armenia, and Koordistan, in the years* 1813 *and* 1814, *with Remarks on the Marches of Alexander, and Retreat of the Ten Thousand. By* JOHN MACDONALD KINNEIR, *Captain in the Hon. East India Company's service, and Political Agent at the Durbar of His Highness the Nabob of the Carnatic. London,* 8vo. 1818. p. 461.

The same traveller, to his own description of the field, adds, in a note, that of the historian.

" Quintus Curtius says, that *Darius advanced eighty* " *stadia beyond the Lycus,* (which is now the Zab,) *and* " *he lay encamped in an immense field without trees or* " *bushes, where the eye could survey remote objects; and* " *that where the ground swelled Darius ordered it to be* " *levelled.* It appears from the same author, that " Alexander passed the Tigris ABOVE Mosul; for he " marched two or three days before the battle: which " was, without doubt, fought on the NORTH of the " Zab, since Darius, in his flight, crossed this river, " and did not reach Arbela till midnight. Memnium, " four days from Arbela, is mentioned as being situ- " ated near a fountain of naphtha, and is, no doubt, " the modern Kerkoosh.—*Ibid.* n.

No. 3.

Interior Site of Babylon.

Translat. vol. ii. p. 9.

In 1817, Lieut. Heude visited the present ruins, or rather traces of ancient Babylon, having the advantage of a previous acquaintance with Mr. Rich's very accurate Memoir. This intelligent traveller, among many acute observations on this subject, says:

"On the eastern bank of the river, and about two "miles beyond Hellah, the ruins are found to com- "mence; occupying an oblong, unequal space of about "two miles and a half by nearly three. It is peculiar "to Quintus Curtius to have described the interior "site of the builded part of the city, by giving its "square dimensions."

Lieut. Heude proceeds to compare the historian's description with the local vestiges still existing: and points out an agreement between the superficial area of the ruins and the square dimensions given by Curtius, with which he was struck while on the spot. The following is the substance of his observations in three different places of the text and notes:

"Mr. Rich gives two miles and 600 yards for the "width, with about two miles and 1200 yards for the "length of the space over which the ruins in general "are found to extend. As it may be conjectured, that

" the river has encroached, this would complete the " oblong nearly to a perfect square, and would occupy " a space of ten miles 1280 yards, or very near eleven " miles; which, at eight stadia to the mile, would cor- " respond within a mere trifle of the ninety stadia " usually esteemed the circumference of the inner " space, that was built up as described by Quintus " Curtius, lib. V."

The same tourist speaks, in a subsequent passage, to the like effect; presenting some additional lineaments of the scattered wrecks of fosses and mounds, palaces and gardens, observatories and temples, for the review of the classical antiquary.

" It took me about an hour to ride over the extent " of ground which the ruins in general occupy. Baby- " lon is described as a square city, with several en- " closures about it. And as it is known that the houses " were not built close up to the walls, but with an " open space between the houses and the walls, which " was generally employed for agricultural purposes; " and as the interior quadrangle, which was occupied " with buildings, is described by Quintus Curtius as " ninety stadia only in circumference; so Mr. Rich's " estimate for the faces of the square would very nearly " occupy this space." — *Voyage up the Persian Gulph, and Journey Overland, from India to England in* 1817. *By* LIEUT. WM. HEUDE, *Madras Establishment. London,* 1819. p. 97, *et seq. text and notes.*

A common feeling of veneration for all the ancient historians who have transmitted topographical details of a city not more renowned

for having long been the seat of empire, than for the works of stupendous magnificence which survived the fall of Babylonia into the condition of a province under the ascendancy of Persia, — induces the Translator — before quitting the subject — to notice, that Lieut. Heude, after having thus instructed the Reader by the local description of existing remains, enters on a train of speculative objection calculated to sap the foundation of the very accounts, which the evidence of his eyes tends so strongly to corroborate. The following is the substance of what he throws out, in taking this unexpected turn.

" It might appear the very height of pre-
" sumption to attack the very ground we
" have stood upon, and to declare, that as
" the works described by the ancient histo-
" rians, — Herodotus, Strabo, Quintus Curtius,
" Diodorus, and others, — are, for their mag-
" nitude, wonderful and extraordinary; so
" there are circumstances in the performance
" not only wonderful but impossible, though
" vouched for by the greater part of these
" authorities."

The Translator of Curtius deems it important to state at once distinctly what the ground

of this objection is. Lieut. Heude considers the authors, whose veracity he impeaches, to assert, that the *whole circumference of the outward wall was built by sections, at the rate of a stadium in a single day;* and his acquaintance with the details of fortification enables him to show, by a simple calculation, that this was impossible. According to the lowest dimensions assigned to the walls of Babylon, "they "were 72 feet in height, and 32 feet thick; "which must have required 14,000 cubic feet "of earth to each current fathom. Twenty "workmen, the greatest number that can be "conveniently applied to each current fathom; "*even in field works,* could never have *even* "*thrown up* a third of the 14,000 cubic feet of "earth within the day."

Without going further into these details, and admitting the limits which they impose on the exertions of the military engineer to be insurmountable, the Translator thinks that the basis of the objection may be altogether destroyed by adducing two or three of the ancient accounts, which not only admit, but even require a different construction from that which Lieut. Heude takes as his premises. Curtius tells us, "The circumference of the whole work

" embraces 368 stadia; the process of building, " according to tradition, occupied as many " days."—*Lib. V. c.* 1. Consistently with this, each stadium might, under each sub-architect, either be completed within the year, some sections being finished sooner than the rest; or all the sections might advance simultaneously, securing the execution of the whole by the end of the year. Two of the elder authorities explain how this was effected. " Semiramis, who " enlarged it, after Belus the original founder, " assigned each furlong of the work, with ma- " terials and funds, to a confidential adherent, " allowing a year for its completion."—*See* JUSTIN, *initio, lib. i.* and CTESIAS, *Chil. iv.* 275.

The foundation of empire in Chaldæa was the erection of a spacious fort; and it would have been but a silly conundrum in architecture, to have propounded for so many successive days a difficult operation, which would confine all the strength of the building establishment to one spot, to the mutual impediment and confusion of the workmen,—instead of directing a combined arrangement, by which a uniform progress to security was rapidly made on all sides. Nor are we to conclude, that all the monuments of power and grandeur which

successive ages witnessed and admired were created in a year. Herodotus says, that the various sovereigns of Babylon contributed to the strength of its walls, and the decoration of its temples.

No. 4.

Description of the Seraub, and of the atmosphere over a salt desert.

Translat. vol. ii. pp. 168, 169.

" Such are the delusive effects of the *Seraub*, a " mirage which constantly plays over the saline waste, " that it is difficult to persuade the beholder, that what " he sees is vapour, and not water. This is alluded to " in the Korân, 24th chapter: ' But as to the unbe- " lievers, their works are like a vapour in a plain, " which the thirsty traveller thinketh to be water, " until, when he cometh thereto, he findeth it to be " nothing.' Quintus Curtius, in describing Alexander's " march through the deserts of Sogdiana, has given so " faithful an account of this illusion, and of the state " of the atmosphere over a salt desert during the heats " of summer, that either he must have witnessed such " scenes himself, or must have acquired his informa- " tion from authentic sources. He mentions a fact " which must come home to the recollection of every " traveller in the East: that as they entered the " deserts, the despair of obtaining water kindled thirst " before it was excited by nature. He then compares " the heat of the sun upon the sands (where every " thing is dried up) to a kiln always burning; an image " which becomes more striking from the very correct " description which follows it: ' The steams which

" exhale from the fervid expanse, that appear like the " surface of a sea, produce a cloudy vapour that " darkens the sky.'—*lib. vii. cap.* 5. Such observa- " tions made in the country appear to be due to the " character of an historian who lies under the im- " putation of indulging in *extravagant* description, and " whose authority, in consequence, has been propor- " tionably depreciated."—MORIER's *Second Journey through Persia, p.* 282.

The revised Translation, following Curtius more closely than the former, gives part of the description thus: " Arid plains take the ap- " pearance of a vast and *deep* sea." The epithet " deep" may, unless corroborated by a distinct authority, be regarded by some persons as a mere rhetorical exaggeration: but the idea of depth is excited by the actual reflection of objects in the ideal water; a remarkable instance of which is cited in vol. ii. ADDITIONAL NOTES (N).

No. 5.

Passage of the Hydaspes.

Translat. vol. ii. pp. 287 ... 290.

" We crossed the Hydaspes at Jellalpoor, lat. about " 32° 28′; long. 73° 36′. I was greatly struck with " the difference between the banks of this river. The " left bank had all the characteristics of the plains of " India; it was, indeed, as flat and as rich as Bengal, " which it greatly resembled: the right bank, on the " contrary, was formed by the end of the range of

" salt hills, formerly seen at Calla-baugh, [on the Indus,
" about 110 miles W. by N. whence the Salt Range
" curves hither], and had an air of extreme ruggedness
" and wildness. The hills still retain the red colour for
" which they were so remarkable when we crossed
" them before. They came to the edge of the river,
" which being also divided by islands, presents exactly
" the appearance one expects from the accounts of the
" ancients. So precisely does Quintus Curtius's de-
" scription of the scene of Porus's battle correspond
" with the part of the Hydaspes where we crossed, that
" several gentlemen of the mission, who read the pas-
" sage on the spot, were persuaded that it referred to
" the very place before their eyes." — *An Account of the Kingdom of Caubul, and its Dependencies in Persia, Tartary, and India. By the Hon.* MOUNTSTUART ELPHINSTONE, *late Envoy to the King of Caubul.* 4to. *London*, 1815. p. 80.

No. 6.

The Worship of Trees in India.

Trans. vol. ii. p. 269.

Independent of such direct testimonies to Curtius as the five preceding, some of these, and other distinguished travellers, appeal to his history to illustrate living manners and existing institutions; in which case the service of corroboration is mutual. Thus:

" Trees are now regarded with superstitious vene-
" ration by the people of India. We find in the
" Institutes of Menu, cap. III., a form of salutation
" addressed to ' the gods of large trees.' " *Travels in*

Various Countries of the East, more particularly Persia. *By* SIR W. OUSELEY. *London.* 1819. 4*to.* *vol. i. p.* 393.

Sir William then refers to Q. Curtius, lib. VIII. c. 9. " Deos putant quidquid colere " cœperunt; arbores maxime, quas violare ca- " pitale est." Among a host of modern writers, who describe specimens of the same superstition, he cites " MOORE's *Narrative of Capt.* " *Little's Detachment,*" p. 212, and his " *Hindu* " *Pantheon.*" One of our elder writers has left us a particular account of the same sort of worship in Ceylon: —

" I shall mention but one tree more, as famous and " as highly set by as any of the rest, if not more, " though it bears no fruit, the benefit consisting chiefly " in the holiness of it. This they call *Bagauhah:* we, " the God-Tree. It is very great and spreading; the " leaves always shake like an asp. They have a very " great veneration for these trees, worshipping them " upon a tradition, that Buddóu, a great god among " them, when he was upon the earth, did use to sit " under this kind of tree. There are many of these " trees, which they plant all the land over, and take " more care of them than of any other. They pave " round about them like a key, sweep often under " them to keep them clean; they light lamps and set " up their images under them: and a stone table is " placed under some of them, to lay their sacrifices on; " they set them everywhere in towns and highways, " where any convenient places are; they serve also for

" shade to travellers; they will also set them in memo-
" rial of persons deceased, to wit, there where their
" bodies were burnt."—*Historical Relations of the Island of Ceylon.* By CAPT. ROBERT KNOX, part i. c. 4.

" Then shall the ancient tree, whose branches wear,
" The marks of village reverence and care,
" Shake through each leaf, as birds profanely wrest
" The venerend boughs to form the rising nest."
WILSON'S *Megha Duta*, or *Cloud Messenger*.

THE AGE IN WHICH CURTIUS LIVED.

The Preface to the First Edition, — in discussing the import of the internal evidence which can be gleaned from the history itself on this subject — notices what is dropped respecting Tyre, and the remains of the Macedonian-Greek kingdoms, west of the Euphrates, being, *at the time the author wrote*, subject to Rome; as well as the thoroughly canvassed allusion to the reigning emperor*. Since that was published, M. de Sainte-Croix has elicited some additional light on this interesting point, by combining various scattered rays of indirect information, which other investigators had overlooked; and the new inferences, thus collected, tend altogether to corroborate the conclusion, that Curtius lived in the reign of Claudius.

* Pp. viii. .... xv.

"The monarchy of the PARTHIANS, which Quintus "Curtius speaks of as existing in his time, was de- "stroyed A. D. 226; when the successful insurrection "of the Sassanides restored the PERSIAN line to the "throne, and the province of Persis to imperial as- "cendancy. Curtius touches the same point in four "places. 1. *He (Darius) had gone to Ecbatana, the "capital of Media.* AT THIS DAY *in the hands of the "PARTHIANS, the city is the royal residence during "summer.*"—CURT. *Transl.* vol. ii. p. 43. This is confirmed by Strabo; who, in speaking of the large village town, Ctesiphon, thus glances at the then royal residences: "There the Parthian kings were accustomed "to reside in winter, for the mildness of the air; but "they passed the summer in the cities of Hyrcania and "Ecbatana, on account of the ancient and still en- "during splendour of those places."—Lib. XVI. p. 512.

2. "Of the collateral passages in Curtius, one oc- "curs when he is describing the army of Darius. "*The rear was closed by the Parthians, a nation then "inhabiting the territory, which the Parthians come "*[*later*] *from* SCYTHIA, NOW *hold.* [*i. e. in sove- "reignty.*]"—Lib. IV. c. 12. [Compare with *Transl.*] "In effect," remarks M. de Sainte-Croix, "the Par- "thians were of Scythian origin, and the Parthian fief, "a canton south-east of the Caspian Sea, was their "cradle; as Curtius elsewhere states: *Hence he moved "into Parthia, then an obscure nation;* NOW, THE "RULING POWER *of all those which lie beyond the "Euphrates and the Tigris, its dominions extend to the "Red Sea**.—Lib. VI. c. 2. [Compare with *Transl.*] "The Parthian empire was never so extended as in "the first century of the Christian era: it is then to

* *i. e.* the Indian Ocean.

" this century that we must assign the era of Quintus
" Curtius. This historian, after having spoken of the
" burning of Persepolis, [see *Transl.* vol. ii. ADD.
" NOTE (G.)] adds: *Alexander and his successors held*
" *their courts in other cities which the Parthians* NOW
" *occupy.*—*Transl.* vol. ii. p. 42. Certainly, at this
" epoch the Persians had their own native princes:
" but then they acknowledged the sovereignty of the
" Arsacides, kings of Parthia.—STRAB. *lib. XV. p.* 506,
" *et. seq.* It was possibly from the former cause,
" that the latter monarchs past the autumn at Hyr-
" cania, and not at Persepolis, like the ancient Per-
" sian kings.—ATHEN. *lib. XII. p.* 513. This last
" station, when reduced to a provincial town, was the
" residence of local hereditary princes, subject at first
" to the Macedonians, and afterwards to the Par-
" thians. And, indeed, the power of the Parthians
" was at this period entire; nor was it materially
" weakened, till Trajan shook it, A. D. 117. After
" which, Marcus Aurelius reduced it, A. D. 165, ac-
" cording to the *Chronicle of Edessa.* ASSEMAN.
" *Bibl. Or.* vol. i. p. 390.

" In conclusion," says M. de Sainte-Croix, " I
" will cite one more passage, to which the critics have
" paid little attention. Without being so clear, or so
" decisive as the preceding, it is, however, deserving
" of comment. It relates to Tyre. *Having risen from*
" *many falls to be thus annihilated, even after this ex-*
" *tinction,* TYRE *was reproduced. And* NOW, A LONG
" PEACE *making all its concerns flourish anew, it enjoys*
" *serenity under the* MILD PROTECTION of Rome.
" CURT. lib. IV. cap. 4.—*Transl.* vol. ii. pp. 375, 376.
" The Tyrians governed themselves, enjoying their
" own peculiar laws under the successors of Alex-
" ander; and Mark Antony recognized this autonomia;

" (JOSEPH. *Antiq.* lib. xv. c. 4.) which the first Roman " emperors confirmed.—STRABO, lib. xvi. p. 521. At " this time Tyre was literally under the *protection of* " *Roman liberality*, according to the expression of " Quintus Curtius. This city did not change its con- " dition until the reign of Severus, when it was placed " in the number of Roman colonies, which possess no " jurisdiction of their own; (AUL. GELL. lib. xvi. " c. 13.) and passed under the consular yoke. SPAN- " HEIM, *de Usu et Præst. Numism.* vol. ii. pp. 610, 611. " It was then, BEFORE THIS CHANGE, that Quintus " Curtius must have written; which operates to de- " monstrate how improbable and untenable are the " grounds upon which some have conjectured that he " lived subsequently to the second century of the " Christian era, at the close of which Severus was " master of the empire. Thus every thing concurs to " strengthen, and nothing opposes, the deduction from " the principal passage first alluded to: that this his- " torian lived in the reign of CLAUDIUS; as I agree " with the most eminent critics in thinking that he " did." — *Examen Critique des Historiens d'Alexandre*, édit. seconde, pp. 849—851.

VINDICATION OF CURTIUS.

The positions taken in the Preface to the First Edition*, remain to repel attack on the points there stated; moreover, the notes to the translation, as opportunities occur, present some decisive proofs—that many passages which have

* Pp. xxvii. . . . xxxv.

been confidently censured, are perfectly accurate. And, above all, we see that living travellers of indisputable authority bear honourable attestation to the fidelity of some of the very pieces of local description, which Le Clerc and Rooke, and other critics of the same prejudiced school, had, on mere surmise, impeached as fictitious scenes from a romantic pencil. Enterprising visitors of the memorable sites of the battles of Arbela and the Hydaspes, find the striking landscapes to be still existing in nature, which the cloistered arbiters of what is probable, or can possibly be true — *in the accounts of foreign climes, measured by the scale of their own knowledge* — had at random pronounced to be the inventions of a florid writer; the peculiar features of individual plains and rivers described, have been compared and identified, and the undervalued picture has received the stamp of credibility from the corresponding original. It would be superfluous to guard the historian's reputation from conjectural assailants by a stronger intrenchment.

There are, however, some general complaints of deficiencies in the plan and conduct of the original history, which respectable critics have made, without considering that the

work is — in the proportion of one part to five — a fragment, and that the two books lost probably contained the class of information, and its details, which they miss; so that the defect is to be regretted, rather than censured. For example, M. de Sainte-Croix observes: — "It "appears that Clitarchus had not absolutely "neglected *Chronology*; and that Quintus Cur- "tius, in following him, must have suppressed "all that might have been useful to this "science." — *Exam. Crit.* p. 621. But how does this learned critic know that the first book of Curtius did not contain a *Chronological Canon*, or *Table of Cardinal Events and Dates*, with an *Explanation* of his own principles, for reducing the Grecian epochs and months to Roman? It is remarkable, that the passage cited to prove that Clitarchus did not neglect Chronology, relates to the date of *Alexander's passage into Asia*, an event which falls within the time which the lost books of Curtius must have comprised. — See *Transl.* vol. i. ADDITIONAL NOTE (C), p. 488. Different historians have different methods of attending to this point. Some interweave into the text, along with the narrative of the action, the *time when* distinctly expressed in words. Others put the date in

the margin. The disciples of a third school — and they are generally the professed cultivators of chronological exactitude — omit the dates entirely in the body of the narrative, reserving them to be given in *a connected series* in a separate book or chapter. M. de Sainte-Croix himself has chosen to follow this latter method. Now let us suppose, for the sake of illustration, what, since the invention of printing, is not likely to happen: let us contemplate the possibility of a political convulsion in Europe, so grand and terrible, as to involve a wreck of modern literature. After the tempest, it is found that only a few books have escaped total destruction, and that while poetry, science, and history, are thus intercepted in descending to posterity, their works are more or less mutilated. Among these capital fragments, some future Montfaucon finds *Examen Critique des Historiens d' Alexandre;* the second and third sections, containing a narrative drawn from ancient sources, are luckily preserved: but the fifth section, entitled *De la Chronologie,* &c. the *Table of Contents,* and other introductory expositions of the Author's plan, are deficient in all the copies. On the negative evidence of such a chasm, caused by the latent operations of

Time, undermining the temple of Knowledge, what! if some future critic should pronounce, that M. de Sainte-Croix had entirely neglected Chronology?

The translator, in venturing to make these observations, relies on the liberality of this learned commentator on ancient history; believing that if the efforts made, in the Preface and Notes, to vindicate Curtius from occasional pointed attacks, should come under his eye, and should in his dispassionate judgment be deemed satisfactory, he will cheerfully render the historian the justice to withdraw so much of his censure as may seem to be unfounded.

Indeed, he has already surmounted and repelled some of the prejudices entertained by preceding critics, on the comparative authority of Curtius and Arrian; as the following quotations from *Examen Critique* will show.

" Diodorus, Curtius, and Justin, agree in repre-
" senting that Darius made two pacific overtures to
" Alexander: but Arrian differs from them in supposing
" that there was but one embassy, apparently without
" reason; for the natural progress of the negociations
" confirms the unanimous testimony of the other
" historians." p. 284.

" Curtius has preserved, in the occasional speeches,
" many curious facts, which Arrian too often neglects.

" Why has this last historian said nothing of the cohort " which Alexander separated from the rest of the " army, after the death of Philotas?"—p. 343. *See also to the same effect*, p. 345.

" Curtius is no panegyrist of Alexander; he nei- " ther extenuates his vices nor conceals his crimes: " on the contrary, he is often the rigid censor of both. " He sometimes even indulges a tone of invective " against this prince; and, in a word, no historian has " spared him less. If, notwithstanding this, the " result of his narrative leaves on the mind a high " idea of the Macedonian hero, not strictly in keeping " with the character which he had drawn of him, " this idea is neither false nor exaggerated, and cannot " be adduced as a reproach to Quintus Curtius."—pp. 113.

In another passage, M. de Sainte-Croix contrasts the character of Alexander, as drawn by Arrian, with the final review of it left by Curtius.

" It is difficult to give credit to the sobriety and " parsimony of Alexander, particularly in the last years " of his life:"—alluding to Arrian's stating, that ' Par- " simonious in all that related to his private pleasures, " he became liberal when he had to oblige his servants " or his friends.'—ARRIAN, lib. VII. cap. 28. M. de Sainte-Croix adds, in a Note, " With what superlatives " does this chapter teem! I could not translate them " into French."—p. 502. The same critic, after directing attention both to the lights and shadows of the portrait sketched by Curtius—lib. X. cap. 5, *Transl.* vol. ii. p. 412—intersperses many discriminating remarks; which amount to saying, that it is upon the whole spirited and faithful.—*See pp.* 503, 505.

COMMENTARY ON THE MAP.

The Reader, who takes a vivid interest in discussions contributing to identify the memorable places of antiquity, or to remove the veil of obscurity which has invested some points in ancient geography with the character of problems requiring solution, may be referred to the ADDITIONAL NOTES on the subjects specified below, as supplements to the *Commentary on the Map* in the original *Preface*.

Vol. I. n. (J) *On the Positions of the Cilician Passes.*
" (M) *On the* OASES *of Hammon.*
Vol. II. *n.* (A) *On the direction in which Darius retreated after the Battle of Arbela.*
(D) *On the Mountains forming the Western frontier of Persis.*
(L) *On the connexion between the Eastern and Western Caucasus.*
(M) *On the site of Alexandria at the foot of Caucasus.*
(P) *Modern name of the Country answering to the Principality of Sysimithres.*
(S) *The source of the Ganges.*
(T) *Ancient name of the Brahmapootra.*
(A A) *Whether Alexander navigated the Eastern Branch of the Indus?*

ALLUSION TO BUONAPARTE.

The allusion to this exemplary subject of vicissitude, which occurs at the beginning of

the former Preface, was written in 1809. This, the only temporary matter introduced, may seem to have grown out of date: but the Author feels a patriotic pride in retaining it; because it will always be evidence, that when Buonaparte had nearly attained the summit of his power, he was not among the number of his admirers. In the following year, the transient emperor compelled Austria to sanction his usurpation by a matrimonial alliance; yet did the Author never despair of a successful reaction, by which the oppressed states of Europe should recover their national independence.

The studied parallels that are drawn between extraordinary men are, in general, exceedingly forced and artificial: but many single points of resemblance between historical characters, really exist; which need only pointing to, without specifying them, to be recognized. The Translator respectfully invites the Reader to compare Buonaparte and Demetrius Poliorcetes. — See *Curt. Transl.* vol. ii. *Narrative Sketch*, p. 477.

London, 15th September, 1821.

PREFACE

TO THE FIRST EDITION;

(*Written in the Year* 1809: *Revised September* 1821.)

THE life of Alexander, as transmitted by Plutarch, Arrian, and Curtius — while the proposed compass of each work differs as much as biography, annals, and history — is, in all the three accounts, an extraordinary field of incident. Quintus Curtius, while exhibiting the progress of a mighty transition of power, has mixed, with the minutes of the council, and the journal of the camp, sketches of biography which lead to an intimate knowledge of ancient manners.

The middle-part of the narrative, and route, of the Macedonian expedition to the East, possesses new interest, on account of Buonaparte's designs on Persia: his proclaimed invasion of India — if any thing more than a machination to induce the Porte, as well as the Court of Tuheran, to permit his occupation of important positions — is a distant object. Alexander subjugated as he went: we may calculate that Buonaparte will follow an example from which deviation would be unsafe, without expecting him to draw his catalogue of means from a magnanimous school. A French army

introduced into Persia — a revolution in the palace at Tuheran — the new protectors of the independence of Persia permanently seated there.

The policy by which Alexander, with an inferior fleet, deprived Darius of a navy *, is another interesting subject of examination; as it is possible that Buonaparte imagines that he is imitating it. If he discover a resemblance between the foundation of the naval power of ancient Persia, and that of Britain, he possesses creative discernment. Deterred by the scruples of a strange superstition from navigating at sea, the Persians, nevertheless, commanded a formidable marine, composed of tributary or mercenary fleets, from Rhodes and Cyprus, Tyre and Sidon: The first successes of the Macedonians weakened the influence of Darius over these naval states: The intermediate progress of the invaders excluded him from vicinity, or any other than a precarious correspondence, with maritime powers, while he yet controlled the greater portion of the Asiatic continent.

An intrepid reasoner, determined to establish a parallel between the victorious Macedonian and Buonaparte, may tread convincing ground, by imitating Shakspeare's model †.

Fluellen. I think it is in Macedon where Alexander is porn: I tell you, captain! if you look into the

* Vol. I. p. 230, line *antepenult.* p. 251.

† K. Henry V. act iv. scene 13.

maps of the orld, I warrant that you sall find, in the comparisons between Macedon and Monmouth, that the situations, look you, is both alike. There is a river in Macedon, there is also moreover a river in Monmouth, but it is out of my prains what is the name of the other river; but it is all one, 'tis as like as my fingers to my fingers, and there is salmons in both.

In the same manner, any peacemaker, who will insist upon agreement between the situations of the French emperor and the great Persian king destitute of a fleet, may suppress circumstances resisting accommodation, and embody coincident shadows.

Why does Buonaparte, as far as he can grasp the coast of Europe, arrest the prow of neutral commerce; and influence the governments of maritime countries to annihilate the navigator and merchant? In offering motives for his prohibitions, it is impossible to reason, and difficult to make two consistent remarks. He may not so much expect to deaden one of the sinews of Britain, as to paralyse Russia and other defeated powers. They cannot recruit their strength; while he, by secret licenses, may throw such trade as he is constrained to permit, into the ports of countries whence his own revenues arise.

Alexander did not suppress commerce, as the medium of more intelligence than he willed should circulate in vassal states. He extended the free harbour,

and protected the many-languaged exchange; sensible that the intercourse of nations wears lingering ferocities from the emerging Barbarian, and distributes over the habitable world the blessings of humanized life. It may be questioned, on a ground which will not affect the character of his intentions, whether he had traced ALL the enlarged and accurately-combined plans latterly ascribed to him. By what revelation did he rise superior to the dark and erroneous notions of Nearchus *, respecting the gulf of Arabia and the country South of the Isthmus of Suez? and no person who entertained them, could project such establishments on the Red Sea, as the First and Second Ptolemy effected. Arrian has recorded a strange misapprehension of Alexander; —When observation was destitute of topical aids, a sagacious traveller might measure a large portion of the earth's surface, without acquiring the true relation of the regions visited:—The Macedonian leader, from observing alligators in the Indus, and beans like those produced in Egypt growing on the banks of the Acesines, had announced, in a letter to his mother, that he had discovered the sources of the Nile; information which he expunged, when the natives, in answer to his inquiries, assured him that the Indus fell into the ocean very far from Egypt. Perhaps his route, from the Delta of

* Arrian, *Indica*, chap. xliii.

the Nile, had appeared to him, having no compass to determine the bearings, to sweep nearly in a circle *.

The Translator does not recollect, that his Author has once prostituted the epithet "divine" by applying it to his hero, or sunk into a fulsome competition with the Greek sycophants: This might be the place for a protest, had not the historian acknowledged the perplexity of Alexander's character. Does a deed merit censure or execration? Curtius has no partiality. Is admiration due? His pen, recently so severe, knows no antipathy, fluent in applauding great and good actions.

What will compensate for the destruction of two books of the history of Curtius, and for chasms in separate chapters? Not all the essays of all his commentators. Other classic writers, whose antiquity is incontestable, have escaped oblivion by a slighter intervention, as it respects the number of manuscripts preserved; but have been more fortunate in retaining, to this day, the identity of fame, commemorated by personal notices—or, have left works which excite a less poignant curiosity respecting the authors.

With the two books, and introductory matter, may have perished information relating to Curtius,—a dedication, or allusions, which would have fixed his contem-

* Arrian, *History of Alexander's Expedition*, b. vi. chap. 1.

poraries. In the progress of the narrative, he observes, that Tyre, when he was writing, enjoyed security under the protection of Rome *; and that the different branches of the Macedonian kings had been deprived of their dominions by the Romans †: These notices declare the era of the author to be subsequent to the accession of the second Cæsar. Another guide to inquiry, is an allusion to the emperor who was reigning when the last book was composed: "It is therefore with due "gratitude, that the Roman people ascribe their salva- "tion to their prince; who, on the night which we had "nearly dated as our last, shone on us a new star. In- "contestably, the rising of this, not of the day ‡, re- "stored light to the shadowed world, when the divided "members of the state were trembling without a head. "How many firebrands did he extinguish! how many "swords sheathe! what a tempest dissipate by inter- "posed serenity! Hence the reinvigorated empire "flourishes. May envy never touch him; may he "live through the age; be his house established, his "line perpetual ||."

* B. IV. iv. 19. † B. VIII. vi. 21.

‡ *Hujus, non solis.* In the rendering offered in the history, *non* is treated as a corruption of *novi*. See another construction of this difficult passage in page xiii. infra. On the above, however, the Translator is disposed to rely, as sufficiently literal.

|| B. X. ii. 23.

The principal applications made of this by different commentators, will be presently stated. Before the probability of each can be weighed, the passage must be considered in connexion with the incidental mention—by Cicero, by Tacitus and Pliny, and by Suetonius—of individuals of the name of Curtius. The addition, found in most of the older manuscripts, of the surname "Rufus," claims a share of attention, as well the opinion pronounced by classical critics, that in purity, elegance, and terseness, the historian's style is worthy of the golden age of latinity.

Cicero, in a letter to his brother Quintus, speaking of expected candidates for the consulship, their adherents and opponents, mentions a Quintus Curtius as a young man of integrity and erudition *.—Men do not commonly live an hundred years:—the Quintus Curtius Rufus of Tacitus and Pliny, is therefore, probably, a distinct person from that slightly introduced to us by Cicero. Their accounts are the same in effect †: "Curtius Rufus, in early life, attended a quæstor into "Africa. In the city of Adrumetium, while he was "sitting protected, by a portico, from the mid-day "sun, the form of a woman, above the human size, "addressed him: 'You, Rufus!' are destined to

* *Ep. ad Quintum*, III. 2.

† Tacitus, *Annals*, XI. 21. Plin. Ep. VII. 27.

" come hereafter into this province with proconsular " authority.' Animated, he returned to Rome; " and, by interest and active intrigue, obtained the " quæstorship. He afterwards succeeded, against com- " petitors of distinguished rank, in a struggle for the " dignity of prætor, supported by the suffrage of Ti- " berius. *Curtius Rufus*, said that emperor, blending " a compliment to his favourite candidate with an apo- " logy for his mean extraction, *seems to be a man* " *sprung from himself*. At a late period of life, he ob- " tained the consular and triumphal ensigns, and finally " went proconsul into Africa, where he finished his " days."— In the field of exhausted research, is found a scanty memorial of a third individual, who may be the same with the historian of Alexander the Great. This appears in the memoir left by Suetonius of celebrated orators *, which time has reduced to a fragment. In the summary of contents to each MS. intermixed with the names of the pleaders or rhetoricians, of whom the extant sections transmit particular accounts, are enumerated eleven individuals of whom no trace remains in the mutilated book. Quintus Curtius Rufus is the third, M. Fabius Quintilianus the tenth, among

* *De Rhetoribus.* SUETONIUS. The known offices of some of his *rhetores* shows, that the term will embrace the public orator and the professor of eloquence.

the less fortunate eleven. Whoever this Curtius was, Suetonius introduced him into good company; we recognise, in one of the earlier characters preserved, that Crassus, of whom Cicero said: "I had rather be the "author of the single oration of Crassus, in defence of "Curius, than be honoured with two Ligurian tri-"umphs*."

The gratulatory encomium, penned by Curtius for the reigning emperor, is applied, by the commentators Frisius and Herwartus, to Augustus; and their opinion, I believe, as well as that of Angelus, identifies the historian with the Quintus Curtius mentioned by Cicero. How does the serenity of the passage correspond with the state of Rome after the death of Julius Cæsar? Augustus unsheathed the sword, kindled the torch, and excited the tempest, of civil war†. His competitors fell, and tranquillity followed his triumph. "Peace, "it is true, was soon after established: but what kind of "peace! The slaughter of Lollius and Varus stained "it in Germany; and the massacre of the Varros, the "Egnatii, and the Julii, made Rome a theatre of "blood‡."

In the judgment of Raderus, Popma, and Perizonius,—the emperor alluded to, is Tiberius; and the

* Brutus. † Le Tellier's *Preface* to his edition of Curtius.

‡ Murphy's Tacitus, *Annals*, I. 10.

African proconsul of Tacitus is one person with the orator of Suetonius and our historian. But the circumstances leading to the accession of Tiberius, form a picture of repose*. There was no storm, or darkness, to be dissipated by the new sovereign as by a rising sun. Nor, to cite a stricture of the learned Casaubon, does the historian appear to have any thing in common with the proconsul.

Before noticing how fully circumstances attending the emperor Claudius coincide with the citation from Curtius, let us survey the grounds upon which conjecture has resorted to Vespasian and Trajan. Connected with the subject is a minute question respecting the import of the word "night:"—Does not, however, the subjoined phrase, "which we had nearly dated as "our last," decide it to be literal; for conceive it to be a figure for "a time of calamity," and the congratulation becomes absurd, as the Roman people would not be desirous of a second metaphoric night. On the contrary, a great perplexity is found in another part of the passage, if it be not figurative; and the commentators Rutgersius and Loccenius, are embarrassed by applying the word "star," literally, to one of the celestial bodies. For this servile construction, they compensate by a violent implication, proceeding to read:

* Tacitus, Annals, I. 11—13.

" Incontestably, the rising of this [moon], not of the " sun, restored light to the shadowed world." The new star, (as they apprehend), is not a trope for the prince unexpectedly installed, but is the moon suddenly rising, during a nocturnal engagement, fought near Cremona, between the armies of Vespasian and Vitellius. " While the battle remained doubtful, the " night being far advanced, the moon rose, and illu- " minated the surface of things, with partial advantage " to Vespasian's army. The light, shining at the back " of their lines, projected from the men and horses " such long shadows, that the Vitellians, deceived by " appearances, aimed at the wrong object: their darts, " consequently, fell short: — but the moon-beams, " playing on the front of the Vitellians, exposed their " bodies to the full view of their adversaries." — TACITUS, *Histor.* III. 23. Vossius and Freinshemius concur in discovering, in Curtius, a retrospect to the accession of Vespasian; but these give the " new star" an unforced relation, as a figure for the emperor intended. Although this is a natural office for the allusion, almost every feature in the history of Vespasian, discountenances and repels the suggestion of the four last-named commentators. However modified, the comparison fails. He did not gain the victory in person; his elevation to the throne occurred at a time long subsequent, and the barbarities and horrors of intestine war deformed the turbulent interval.

Nearly the same considerations which have excluded Tiberius, apply to Trajan, with these additional objections, that the latter emperor was destitute of offspring, and that in his reign, Latin composition had descended far in its decline. The silence of Quintilian respecting Curtius has been the solitary inducement, with one or two critics, in defiance of outnumbering reasons, to postpone the era of the historian to the reign of Trajan. The silence of Quintilian respecting the elegant historian Velleius Paterculus, who is known to have lived under Tiberius, proves that his silence respecting Curtius should have no influence whatever against a train of circumstantial deductions.

It appears, from the narrative of Josephus, (*Antiq.* ch. xix. 3, 4.) that the single night which passed between the assassination of Caligula by conspirators and the unpremeditated elevation of CLAUDIUS, was an interval of hasty debate, hostile defiance, confusion, and terror; during which, the senate, and the opposed members of the state, were trembling without a head. Had the nobles, who asserted rival pretensions to the throne, and the desperate factions which impatiently aimed to abolish the imperial government, come to the promiscuous conflict which was impending, the shock of Roman arms, embrued in Roman blood, might have sternly desolated the queen of cities, the ambition of party leaders might have dismembered the august territory. Again; after Claudius was saluted emperor,

when the soldiers supporting him prepared, with uplifted weapons, to kill the consul Quintus Pomponius, because he had exhorted the senate to recover their liberty, Claudius, interposing, snatched the consul out of peril, and seated him at his side. How many firebrands did the new sovereign extinguish, how many swords sheathe, what a tempest dissipate, by this moderation! To the senate, this eventful night had nearly proved the last; and the influence of Claudius alone prevented the members, making a late submission, from falling victims to the enraged army.

The merit of thus appropriating the cited passage, belongs chiefly to the commentators, Lipsius, Brissonius, and Le Tellier. When the historian of Alexander the Great is admitted a contemporary of Claudius, an identity may be inferred between him and the Q. Curtius Rufus of Suetonius. In the fragment above mentioned, the *Summary of Contents,* still preserved at the head of each section, gives the names of several illustrious orators of which the biographies are lost. The order is that of time; and it has been gleaned from another source, that M. Portius Latro, whose name is second in the bare list of names, died of a quartan ague in the fortieth year of Augustus: thence to the accession of Claudius intervened thirty years: The orator Curtius, who follows Latro, whether as a junior contemporary, or as belonging to the next gene-

ration, may, consistently with reason and experience, be supposed to have lived till the beginning of the reign of Claudius. This conclusion has the sanction of Casaubon; and is in full unison with a recommendation, by Erasmus, of the history of Curtius, as a repertory of formulas of eloquence not to be found in Cicero.

SILENCE OF ANCIENT AUTHORS RESPECTING THE HISTORY WRITTEN BY CURTIUS, CONJECTURALLY EXPLAINED.

Was the history suppressed by an act of the Senate, because the first two books contained offensive political reflections? That which in the shape of information had been credible, may deserve to be mentioned among conjectures. But inquiry flies to other mere probabilities. How would the moral independence with which Curtius writes, be received in the court of the Cæsars? The private character of Claudius is as little stained as that of any of the Pagan emperors except Antonine: but the almost Christian rectitude* which condemns the degeneracies of Alexander, must have displeased Nero and many of his successors. Anecdotes related by Suetonius, attest, that at Rome, the temple of fame was not far distant from the cave of oblivion: — Caligula permitted the historical writings of Titus Labienus, Cordus

* Romans, ii. 14.

Cremutius, and Cassius Severus, which had been proscribed by the Senate, to be universally circulated; and afterwards the august critic was preparing to banish the works of Virgil and Livy from public and private libraries: Domitian condemned to death Hermogenes of Tarsus for oblique reflections in his history, and crucified the clerks who had transcribed it *.

I shall now endeavour impartially to collect facts opposing, and facts countenancing, another conjecture, that the history written by Curtius was suppressed, through a political jealousy of Alexander's fame, connected with a creed, useful in the legions, that Roman triumphs were greater than other triumphs. Augustus spared Alexandria, from veneration for its founder: deposited flowers and a golden crown on his sarcophagus: and, in the middle-part of his reign, used a seal with the head of Alexander. The whimsical despot Caligula sometimes wore his breastplate: Nero, whose conduct is far less a criterion of state policy, named a new Italian legion the phalanx of Alexander †. From Nero's reign to Trajan's I do not know that any expression in honour of the Macedonian escaped any of the emperors. For the most part the Roman classics are not liberal to

* *In Caligul.* c. 16, 34. *In Domit.* c. 10.

† Dion Cassius, l. 51. Suetonius, *in C. August.* c. 18, 50. Idem, *in Caligul.* c. 52. Idem, *in Neron.* c. 19.

the ancient fame of subdued tributaries. When Curtius wrote, the servitude of Macedon, Syria, and Egypt, was growing mature,—but a government entrenched in jealous maxims might see, in a LATIN history of Alexander, an innovation calculated to awaken the national ambition of those provinces; an adoption from "Lying Greek Fable," which would restore it to credit and lustre. The imperial legions had suffered severe defeats from the Parthians: and although the latter had, early, seized the divided Greek kingdom of Bactriana, and had driven the later Seleucidæ over the Euphrates, yet their military successes might be regarded as flowing from Macedonian institutions not altogether ceasing to operate in the East. That, in the Roman school of politics, these subjects had some connexion, appears from Livy*:—In a digression to prove, that his country, in the time of Alexander, possessed a band of military commanders, of whom any one was equal to that conqueror in genius, in resources, in intrepidity, and superior in some qualities of a leader,—Livy complains, that the silliest of the Greeks are fond of exalting the reputation even of the Parthians, at the expense of the Roman name. Parthian coins attest, that there was a bond of good-will and mutual estimation between the Parthians and the Greeks†. Horace immortalizes the

* Lib. IX. 17, 18. † Pinkerton, *on Medals*, vol. ii.

extravagance of Parthian fiction, to discredit their victories or claims of dominion*. If, within four centuries of the present time, a prince of Irak bore the name Askander,—eighteen centuries ago the Parthian sovereigns might affect to be successors of the Macedonian. —Time abated all jealousy of Alexander's fame. Trajan, after subduing the Parthians, professed a consistent admiration of Alexander, and was restrained only by his advanced age from emulating him in the conquest of India†: In the following reign, Arrian wrote his *Expedition* of Alexander under the auspices of Hadrian; and the emperor expended his heroic fire in an *Alexandreid*, which has perished. The Macedonian coins, struck under the Roman government, perpetuate vestiges of invidious policy and subsequent generosity. Early specimens correspond with the partition of Macedon into four districts‡: The conquering state honoured its own greatness, when the vanquished were permitted to impress on their coins and funeral medals—the *Taming of Bucephalus*; the *Encounter with the chased Lion*; the *Head of Alexander radiated*; and other memorials of their ancient king. Eckhel, on strong grounds, contends, that the Macedonian coins under the Roman government, first received these devices during the op-

* *Ep.* II. 1, l. 112. † *Vincent* after *Xiphilinus*.

‡ *Doctrina numorum veterum*, vol. ii. p. 63.

portunity given when Caracalla was styling Alexander the Eastern Augustus, affecting to be himself another Alexander, and multiplying medals and monuments of ambitious insanity *. Pellerine had supposed that permission to strike these coins was deliberately granted to the Macedonian community by the enlightened Alexander Severus. Meanwhile, the work of Curtius, if it had been politically buried, could not burst into day as soon as its appearance would be tolerated.

* *Ibid*, p. 111. The date " ЄΟϹ" which a few specimens bear, is an uncertain guide, because it cannot be decided from what epoch the year 275 should be reckoned. To make it coincide with any part of the reign of Caracalla or Alexander Severus, is to assume a beginning for the series when nothing occurred that could be an epoch to the Macedonians. As a stranger to antiquarian studies, I hesitate to point out the year A. C. 167, as the epoch: at which time the Romans, while they provided for the provincial subservience of Macedon, declared it an independent commonwealth. The 275th anniversary of this new settlement of the state, corresponds with the tenth year of Trajan. In comparing the workmanship of imperial coins under Trajan with that of Macedonian coins with the date " ЄΟϹ," I am not aware of any error in considering, that, up to an era later than Trajan's, the workmanship of Greek coins, struck at the same time with Roman, would be superior; and that as artists were attracted from Greece to Rome by the more liberal means of remuneration, the execution would here improve, and there decline, till the ratio of superiority became inverted. My most handsome acknowledgments are due to Mr. Edgar, who po-

There is a distinct cause, sufficient to entomb a manuscript for years or for ages—posthumous publication unduly postponed, or not performed by the parties to whom it was confided. To this Dr. Bentley attributes the long dormancy of the astronomical poem of Manilius. The accurate History, by Babour, of his own life and actions, remained in obscurity till the middle of the reign of his grandson Acbur*. The papers left in the closet of Peiresc supplied his heirs with a whole winter's fuel; and many of the labours of the learned Bishop Lloyd were consumed in the kitchen of his descendants. The history, by Swift, of the last years of Queen Ann, had perished through the negligence of his executors, had not a straggling manuscript fallen into active hands†.

EARLIEST NOTICE OF CURTIUS——ANCIENT MANUSCRIPTS.

Petrus Blæsensis, writing about 1150, notices, that Curtius was then used in the schools. In the same century, was composed the *Alexandreid* of Gualterus

lately lent me a scarce coin from his collection; and I believe I may say that this suggestion is sanctioned by his concurrence.

* Davy's Letter on the authenticity of the *Institutes* of Timour.

† Idler, No. 65.

Beyra, which is a versification of the history transmitted by Curtius, even to the adoption of his words. The resurrection of Curtius from the dust of a library must have taken place at least as far back as the year 900, because in 1702, according to the testimony of Montfaucon, the Colbertine manuscript was above eight hundred years old. Perhaps this, and the manuscript in the collection of the Medici, adjudged by Lucas Holstenius, in the preceding century, to be seven hundred years old, with a few other venerable time-worn relicks, are transcripts of a mutilated original.

SUPPLEMENT BY FREINSHEMIUS.

The attempt of Brunus to fill up the chasms in the history, has been superseded by the masterly compilation of John Freinshem, better known by the latinized name Freinshemius. A native of Ulm, the latter died in 1660, aged about fifty-two. Among his well-received labours are to be recounted——Notes on Florus; Supplements to Livy; Notes, and Supplements, to Tacitus. His commentary on Curtius maintains an eminent character; and his supplement has so far satisfied critical judges, by its elegance and erudition, by the appropriate connection of the first two books, and

the happy intervention of small sections in the fifth, sixth, and tenth, as to gain admission into the Latin editions of subsequent commentators; and it has been followed as an authentic basis by translators. Thus we are introduced to the middle and end of Alexander's life and actions, by a luminous beginning. As, however, the extant books of Curtius transmit full and interesting details not to be found elsewhere, — the liberal derivation from other sources, substituted for what is lost, while it alleviates the inconvenience, cannot compensate for the damage literature has sustained by the mutilation of the original work; especially as there is reason to think that the author's first book contained some standard points and lines, marking what systems of Chronology and Geography he pursued, and connecting them with the history.

In the *Introduction*, Freinshemius, among reflections for Curtius finely imagined, adopts a sentiment from the Preface of Arrian, that Ptolemy, because he was a king, and had survived Alexander, was free from inducements to misrepresentation. A word dropped by Curtius*, would lead us to expect, in the enumeration of original authorities, a more discriminating and qualified tribute to Ptolemy. The author begs leave to refer to the *revised Supplement* for the alterations which

* *Translation*, vol. ii. p. 335.

he has made in adverting to some of the primary historians who might have been, and probably were, the original authorities of Curtius.

He has also corrected a few anachronisms into which Freinshemius had fallen.—*See Book* I. pp. 19, 40, ADD. NOTES (G)—and 218, n.†—and 251, n.‡—Likewise one or two errors in geography, *etc.* for which the authorities of Freinshemius, rather than himself, are to blame. Of this *Book* II. p. 263, is an example.

The speeches of Python and Demosthenes, introduced into the Supplement by Freinshemius, are not extant in any ancient author in the first person; but are founded on incidental notices in Plutarch, Livy, and Justin, and on hints given by the Athenian orator himself in subsequent orations. The Translator has ventured slightly to amplify them, and to add the paragraph with which the speech of Demosthenes concludes. As the preparatory sketch of Philip's relations with the Grecian states, also in the first book, consisted of little more than proper names, he has filled up the outline. In the Supplement, the cited authorities in the margin, mark additions by the Translator; where the margin is vacant, Freinshemius is the authority.

FORMER ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS——THE PRESENT TRANSLATION.

There have been four translations of Curtius in

English. The first, by Robert Brende: was printed at London, *quarto*, 1553, 1561; *octavo*, 1570; *quarto*, 1584, 1592, 1614. The next version, by Robert Codrington, had three editions: London, *quarto*, 1652; *duodecimo*, 1670, 1675. The third English Curtius was the work of several hands; with an epistle to queen Mary, by Nahum Tate, being a comparison of some of the actions of king William with those of Alexander the Great: *octavo*, London, 1690. A fourth translation by John Digby, 2 vols. *duodecimo*, London, 1714, 1726, was revised, 1747, by the Reverend William Young.

Superior to its predecessors, the last is not so in proportion to the advantages of a more cultivated age, either in a patient consultation of difficult passages in the Latin, or in the style of the English. It creates some geographical errors, and unintelligible descriptions, by misconstruction; and slurs over such as belong to the original, without censure, apology, or explanation. A few specimens will justify an attempt at a new translation. Each quotation is from Young's Digby: the reference is to the parallel passage in the following volumes:—

I. "The *back of the mountain where the sea presses in* "*farthest*, has three very narrow passes, by one of which "you enter Cilicia." vol. i. p. 289, l. 3, antepen.

"By reason of the *declivity of the mountains toward the* "*plain, there was a great gulf.*" ii. 27, l. 4, antepen.

" About *three of the clock*, the tide, according to its " ordinary course." ii. 358, l. 18.

II. " Thymodes, Mentor's son, was a brisk young man." i. 281, l. 7.

" And that he might not do an ill thing, he was resolved " to marry her lawfully." ii. 238, l. 6.

" The death of this man procured Alexander more ill will " than that of any other, by reason he was a man of probity " and learning, and had persuaded him to live, when (having " killed Clitus) he had resolved to die." ii. 259, l. 17.

These examples may suffice.

Throughout the books of Curtius, the version is a closer companion to the original, than the Translator aimed to make the English, in relation to the Latin Supplement; and the competition between the two languages, unequal as it must be, is strenuously maintained.

If the Translator may speak in the first person: I have to ask pardon for two or three unusual inversions, not meant to possess the smooth tinkling of a dying paragraph, but to disturb the gentle reader in the midst of a flow of monotony, and relieve him by seasonable ruggedness. Against inexorable critics, I can plead ancient license for an opposite sacrifice to variety of cadence, the deliberate retention of morsels of verse accidentally escaping in composition; three feet of sapphic, and less than an epic line, cannot deserve a se-

vere fulmination. I must bespeak absolution, too, for using the word "transcend" in a sense correlative with "ascend" and "descend." The consciousness that I have detected and avoided some slight alloy of error, in a variety of works connected with the illustration of Curtius, prevents me from hoping that care has preserved me from mistakes. The notes show my great obligations to previous commentators, and to some recent English writers.

VINDICATION OF CURTIUS.

The admirers of the historian are not uniformly just to other ancient classics: Cardinal Perron declared, that one page of his work was worth thirty of Tacitus. This extravagance is matched by Le Clerc, and surpassed by Rooke, in favour of Arrian. As the *Judgment* pronounced against Curtius by the learned Le Clerc, has been prefixed by Rooke to his translation of Arrian, and reinforced by satirical notes partaking of the pleasant manner in which Dennis rallies Addison, the information and the candour of both writers will be considered together. The great Geneva linguist wrote in an age, which, *in respect to the geography of Asia*, cannot be styled by courtesy half-enlightened: yet

Curtius is condemned wherever the historian's descriptions do not coincide with the critic's knowledge.

1. Entertaining the notion, that the heat or cold of a climate is to be estimated by the parallel of latitude, Le Clerc cannot believe that the Macedonians found the heights of the Parapamisadæ as cold as Curtius represents; and he securely ridicules the oppressive heat encountered in the desart on the hither border of Sogdiana, because this is farther North. But Niebuhr, in Arabia, and Parsons, in Syria, have experienced, in the same day, transitions analagous to diversity of season, by ascending from low-lands to elevated ridges: In the island of Ceylon, a chain of mountains separates opposite climates: and at cape Gardefan on the coast of Africa, the navigator passes from summer to winter in an instant.

2. Le Clerc tortures with the same eager severity the account, found in more than one passage of Curtius, of an imperfect degree of day-light arising from gelid mist or steaming vapour: He confutes an erroneous cause, falsely stated to be assigned by Curtius.—A phenomenon brought into notice by a late traveller, might contribute to the effect. He informs us*, that from the beginning of March to the end of May, a wind

* *Travels in Asia and Africa*, by Abraham Parsons, Esq. Consul at Scanderoon, p. 189.

from the N. W. usually prevails in the Persian gulf; during which a dry mist obscures the lustre of the sun. This mist is occasioned by that wind blowing rapidly over the desarts of Arabia for so great a length of time as to raise up and drive before it great quantities of sand, the minute particles of which are imperceptible to the naked eye. On the cabin-furniture, the dust every morning lay so thick, that it was usual to draw upon it devices with the finger. This is the more surprising, as the nearest part of the opposite Arabian coast is distant thirty leagues from Busheer. On land, it would hardly have been suspected, and could not have been ascertained, that the atmospheric light could be partly obscured by a volatile medium conveyed from an arid country equally distant.

3. Le Clerc argues, like a mere scholar, against the striking description given by Curtius of the violent *bore* in the Indus; and he consistently affirms, that the tide on the Indian coast is but SMALL.

4. The Genevan critic condemns every exercise, by Greek or Barbarian, of the organs of speech, as an improbable declamation; as if the business of the world could proceed without conversation or debate. The speech of the Scythians is the object of his unfortunate selection—Dr. Gillies has * candidly testified, that this

* *History of Greece*, ch. xxxviii. note (62).

speech is sufficiently consonant to the manners of barbarous nations; subjoining, that Le Clerc speaks with equal ignorance and severity, when, in arraigning the fidelity of Curtius, he says, "Even the Scythians, totally destitute of literature, come equipped with rhetorical tropes."—Rooke, instead of giving credit to the Latin historian of Alexander, for interesting particulars, deficient in Arrian, of the accusation and defence of Philotas, invidiously observes*: "He has given us "the several questions and answers, replies and rejoinders, with so much nicety, that one would almost "swear he had been fee'd for counsel on one side or "the other; though, after all, I much doubt whether "the greater part of what he has advanced upon that "head be not fiction." Gratuitous and candid! If the reader should wish to inquire, whether we owe the speeches transmitted by ancient historians to the memory of the auditors, or to written reports of public clerks or private secretaries, a passage in Arrian, *on the division of the empire*, as preserved by Photius, will authorize the conclusion, that arranged facilities favoured the latter practice. During the insurrection of the soldiers against Antipater, related in the *Narrative* following the *Translation of Curtius*, Euridice, the wife of Philip Aridæus, made an oration against Antipater,

* Translation of Arrian, vol. i. p. 197, note.

which (so the abridgment of Photius adds) Asclepiodorus the official writer took care to record. Now, if an unexpected speech, delivered in a turbulent scene, could be taken down,—there is no difficulty in believing minutes to have been made of the conferences held with ambassadors, the proceedings of a council, the pleadings before a tribunal.

5. Le Clerc inveighs against the historian's practice of transmitting remarkable localities attending rivers, some of which happen to be picturesque, as a vein of useless ornament. The drawing which Curtius has penciled of a section of the Hydaspes, has assisted Dr. Vincent * to fix the place where Alexander passed the river; and from many such impertinent pieces of scenery, information has been extracted for the map which accompanies this work.

6. There is scarcely an animadversion of Le Clerc entirely just and accurate in its rise and conduct; when happiest, he overcharges those errors, which other critics candidly notice to prevent them from misleading the reader. In other places, Curtius is justified by translating him differently.

7. Rooke takes more pains to asperse Curtius than to explain Arrian. In this spirit he comments: [vol. i. 189, note 1.] "Curtius then goes to work to de-

* *Nearchus*, 2d edit. p. 126.

"scribe the Caspian sea, and gives us the opinions of "several, concerning it, which are all, now, well "known to be false."—The information, in Curtius, [*Translation*, vol. ii. p. 88,] that a strong north-wind brings an extensive local inundation from the Caspian sea, and that a south-wind sweeps the inundation back, is not found in Arrian or any other ancient author: but this striking topographical notice is confirmed by modern accounts.

8. Where, in the battle with Porus, Curtius represents the Indian archers to have been incommoded by the slippery state of the ground,—Rooke marks it among his important objections, because Arrian [book v. ch. 15.] describes the place where the Indian army was drawn up, as firm and sandy: but it is evident, from the beginning of that chapter in Arrian, that the field was interrupted and surrounded with slimy tracts.

9. In passages, where Curtius cannot be reconciled with Arrian, which are less numerous than Rooke supposes, I protest against the assumption that Curtius is necessarily inaccurate, for the following reasons:—because Arrian sometimes gives distinct versions of the same transaction, uncertain which original authority to prefer;—and because, in various places, where he gives but one account, he has evidently not discriminated so well as Curtius, who gives a different: In Arrian, for instance, the eldest daughter of Darius is

named Barsiné, confounded with the mother of prince Hercules; the imperial city of Persepolis is lost in the narrative confounded with Pasargada; the Dahæ are placed beyond the Tanais, or Jaxartes; the Chorasmii are removed to the vicinity of Colchis and the Amazons, on the border of the Euxine; and the Indian ocean is spoken of as communicating with the Hyrcanian sea. The last error is comparatively small; because it is not an error in the detail of transactions, but an opinion which might have been ingenious, though time has proved it to be false.

10. Curtius has to complain that later writers are not uniformly candid, in proportion to their information. The elegant historian, Dr. Gillies, thus adverts to the beautiful sketch of the Cydnus, which Le Clerc had reluctantly admitted to be in place: "From his laboured "description of this river, it seems as if he imagined "*that* water must have possessed very extraordinary "qualities, which proved hurtful to Alexander." Curtius ascribes to it no morbid property; nevertheless, there are streams morbidly cold. Reinegg, having described the source of the Euphrates in the mountains of Armenia Major, to rise from innumerable holes, in a blackish kind of rock, says: "The water near the "springs is so intensely cold, that neither man nor cat-"tle can drink it: three minutes suffice to kill birds "plunged in it up to the neck: I immersed my hand

" for five minutes; and, after suffering inexpressible " pain, could scarcely restore it to its natural warmth " in twenty-four hours *." In a subsequent note, Dr. Gillies terms the sea-storm encountered at the siege of Tyre an imaginary storm. What is there incredible in such an incident? Is the picturesque inconsistent with nature; or has Arrian omitted no matters of fact?

11. The report, by the Carthaginian ambassadors to the Tyrians, of an expedition from Sicily against Carthage contemporary with the siege of Tyre, is noticed in the commentary to the following translation of Curtius, as an apparent error; but is it certain, that every momentous occurrence in the history of Carthage and Sicily is transmitted by ancient writers? It appears from the Adulitick inscription, that Ptolemy Evergetes had nearly conquered the whole empire of the Seleucidæ in Asia, — an historical fact of cardinal importance; and yet his success in that invasion, so far from being detailed in its proper order and connexion by historians of the age, is only glanced at in a single sentence by Polyænus †.

12. I scruple to treat a geographical error in the text as a corruption of the copies: but it may be admit-

* Preface to WILKINSON'S *Translation of Reinegg's Caucasus.*

† Cited by BAYER under the article *Bactria*, p. 61.—VINCENT'S *Periplus*, 2d edit. p. 531. — *Voyages and Travels by* GEORGE VISCT. VALENTIA. London, 1809. Vol. III. pp. 192, 195, 200.

ted to be a just canon of criticism, that when a different part of the history proves the author to have been superior to the error, a corruption in the copy may be supposed.

In book vii. ch. iii. 12, the Caspian sea is mentioned; and then the Hyrcanian, as a distinct sea:—In book vi. ch. iv. 9, Caspian and Hyrcanian had been properly stated as names of the same sea; and in the section which contains the corrupted passage, the sea which washes Cilicia is noticed a few lines previously; to read, therefore, instead of *Hyrcanum*, where a sea distinct from the Caspian must be understood, *Internum*, one of the Latin names for the *Mediterranean*, is to correct the transcribers of the manuscripts by the knowledge which Curtius evidently possessed.

In book vii. ch. iii. 9, the territory of the Arachosians, according to the Latin copies, is represented to extend to the Pontic sea:—By comparing this with two other passages, it may be deduced, that the word which *Ponticum* has supplanted, is *Indicum*. In the next section, Curtius states, that the southern district of the Parapamisadæ slopes toward the Indian sea; and, in book ix. ch. vii. 23, he records, that two tribes seated on the river Indus paid tribute to the Arachosians.

13. Something relating to the character of the historian has mixed itself with every department of the

preface. As Rapin, negligent of elegance, is celebrated for the impartiality of his historical writings, his simple testimony to the impartiality which Curtius unites with elegance, has superior weight. " For historical honesty " Q. Curtius deserves high commendation; he relates " the bad, as well as the good, actions of Alexander*."

Lipsius pronounces Curtius an uncorrupt and legitimate historian, if such ever wrote; and commends the grace of his narrative. Who better than Erasmus can judge of terseness and elegance? I had translated extracts from the numerous learned encomiasts of Curtius: but withdraw them, because they have a mixed relation to qualities which must be impaired in a translation. I retain the following testimony to his power of entertainment.

Alphonsus, king of Naples, was confined by indisposition at Capua; and while every one was devising amusements and attentions to relieve the royal patient, — summoned from Gaieta, I flew to his presence, carrying with me my juleps and catholicons, that is to say, such books as I knew would give him most pleasure to hear read, hoping to apply them under favourable indications, as the doctors say: among these, I administered Quintus Curtius. PANORMITA, *in facetiis Alphonsi Regis.*

* *Reflect. in Hist.* s. 28.

COMMENTARY ON THE MAP.

RESEARCH into ancient authorities, and application for new information, have been exerted to collect materials for this geographical sketch; in which will be observed deviations from former maps, both as to points which have been ascertained, and points which remain doubtful. I owe some important limits and stations, newly determined, to the unexampled liberality of Mr. Arrowsmith.

Even in the best maps, the shape and position of the Caspian sea have varied to a perplexing degree, through the want of accurate observations. About two years ago, a new survey of that sea was ordered by the Russian government, upon which a hundred-sheet-map has been constructed. Not having access to this authority, or any draught founded upon it, I paused; unwilling to give the public an outline, avowedly uncertain and defective, of a coast which affects the extent, and relative position, of several capital provinces in the empire of ancient Persia. I made a request, for which an ardent desire to illustrate a chapter of ancient history is my sole apology. The Public will learn, with expectation, that Mr. Arrowsmith is preparing a new map of Persia. This comprises the Caspian laid down from the Russian chart, with points of latitude recalculated. Although unknown to this gentleman, as soon as I had explained to him, that I was translating Curtius, and sketching a map of Alexander's conquests, he politely showed me his map of Persia, unpublished, and but in progress. On inspecting it, I was confirmed in thinking, that a correct Caspian, introduced into a map with ancient names, would be a valuable contribution to classic science. When I requested permission to copy it on the reduced

scale of my own map, I stated, that I possessed neither distinction nor influence, and that it was very uncertain, whether it would ever be in my power to make such a return for an uncommon favour as the liberal may exchange with the liberal. Mr. Arrowsmith lent me facilities for copying it at his residence, and treated me as a friend.

From the same authority, I derived the positions of Bactra (the modern Balk), of Maracanda (Samarcand), and of Cogend (whether this be Alexandria or Cyropolis); the courses of the rivers Ochus, Oxus, and Jaxartes; the lower part of the Indus; the coast of the Delta of the Indus, of Gedrosia, and of the neck of the Persian gulf; the salt lake in Parthia, and the fresh-water lake in Drangiana. As the mountains were not then inserted in Mr. Arrowsmith's map, he gave me the latitude and longitude of the Caspian streits.

Although from the projection used, distances on the map will measure, in every direction, nearly as on a globe; yet they will, in general, be materially shorter than road distances, in varying proportions, on account of the constant curvature caused by marshes, hills, and other local obstacles, which turn the traveller. In mountainous countries, besides a very great lateral curvature, there is a recurring curvature up and down, which cannot be expressed on any map, far less can it be measured. The distance from Aleppo to Bagdad, according to a journal of Parsons, is 900 miles; the distance is but 500, on the map, embracing every great curvature. This route, with other routes of modern travellers, was merely pencilled to obtain a principle, and effaced as having nothing to do with Alexander's campaigns. I consider the Macedonian engineers to have used the Olympiac stadium of 94½ toises; but in setting down the extreme points of a course of stadia, I regard every stadium of *direct distance* as measured by a flexile rod kept bent by a string,—frequently as short as 51 toises, the stadium which D'Anville supposes to have been employed; sometimes relaxed

to two thirds of its direct length; and rarely, for small intervals, applied in its full extent, or quite strait.

Properly speaking, every place not visited by Alexander is out of the map; yet, on account of their influence on interior positions, I have equally endeavoured to insert the surrounding points correctly. The great chain between the Euxine and the Caspian is regulated by the large and luminously particular map in Wilkinson's *Translation of Reinegg's Caucasus;* and the German traveller's opinion respecting the extent of Hyrcania is in part adopted. It is decided, that the Taurus and the Caucasus approach, but are not connected. "The branch, from "Caucasus, shooting S. S. E., winds at last southward: but, "before reaching the banks of the Cyrus, is lost in the fer- "tile plains of ancient Albania. Thus, then, the mountains of "Persia can in no way be regarded as a continuation of the "primitive chain of Caucasus. They received their origin "probably from the Mossian and Coraxian branches: but I "do not know," observes Dr. Reinegg, "that ridges separ- "ated by plains more than one hundred versts [say twenty "miles] broad, can be reckoned as a continuation of primi- "tive mountains*."

The corrected latitude given to Sinopé, is derived from a note in Rennell's *Geography of Herodotus:* in the situation of the Oasis of Hammon, of the Fountain of the Sun, and of many scattered points too numerous to detail, the same classic geographer's maps and dissertations have been followed.

Myos Hormus on the Arabian gulf, and Petra Nabathœa, claim from me a tribute to the learned works of Dr. Vincent: but I reserve these and other acknowledgments, to accompany reasons for confessing, that I cannot adopt his views respecting the rivers of Susiana.

Such cities as were not built till the age following that of

* Vol. i. p. 7.

Alexander, have been generally excluded. Antioch, Seleucia Pieria, and a few others, whose names declare themselves, have been reluctantly retained, because common calculations depend upon their sites.

A break in a mountain, by two sharp strokes, is merely a symbol of a practicable road, which may lie through a fissure, or over a ridge, or penetrate an alternation of acclivities and declivities, with level defiles.

The pass into Syria (the plural Latin term is more correct) comprises four defiles. The following description, abridged from Parsons's *Travels*, shows that, in Alexander's time, it might contain but three. The second and fourth passes are natural: the first avenue is made practicable by art; the third, entirely artificial, has been opened by manual labour. In the road from Issus to Syria, from the point where the ascent commences, it continues, with little variation, steep and rugged:—onward, about a mile and a half*, a level interval of four hundred yards conducts to a steep stony declivity. At the bottom, the traveller has to penetrate a small grove, and is relieved by a plain one hundred yards over. The ascent is then gradual for two miles, afterwards steep for a third of that space, leading to an avenue twenty yards long, through which two camels cannot pass abreast. The road is artificially constructed of earth and stones, without cement: the removal of these would make an hour's difference by the circuit which must be taken. This is the first and least difficult pass. Hence, for a mile the road is good, and of gradual ascent: it is afterwards rugged and very steep for about a mile and a quarter,—when the second pass commences, between a steep rocky mountain on the left, and an appalling precipice on the

* Half an hour. Parsons gives sometimes the time, and sometimes the distance. When yards or feet occur, the measure is always from Parsons.

right. This defile, one hundred yards long, is not, where most spacious, above seven feet wide. Leaving the precipice, the road winds up a very rugged acclivity for four hundred yards. At the end of a small level on the summit, is the third pass, cut through a very high rock; to descend which, camels, as they did in ascending, take a zig-zag track. The avenue, twenty yards wide, and two hundred and seven long, is on the descent and crooked; crags, forty-five feet in height, hang over it. Opponents on the summit, by rolling down massy stones, might overwhelm the passenger. There is no other opening: but the native mountaineers climb the sides of the height with their arms slung about them. From the place where the pass curves, the ground is level, and expands so as to allow four hundred men to stand in battalion. At the bottom, an opening to the right presents a prospect of the plain between the ridge and the bay, of the bay, and of the mountains on the Cilician side. The road, here, intersects about an acre and a half of level ground, surrounded by lofty heights, frightful precipices and chasms. Now commences the entrance to the modern town of Bylan, a street entirely acclivity; the ground is covered by a sheet of water, which falls from a mountain on the right, and is prevented from spreading on the left, by a parapet wall fixed at the edge of a precipice. From the parapet is seen a small plain half a mile in diameter, enclosed by mountains so as to form an amphitheatre, whither the way is so steep that none ventures to ride down. The luxuriant plain is covered with perennial grass, interspersed with ever-green fruit trees, though the encircling mountains are, one-third of the year, encrusted with ice and snow. The principal street of Bylan extends, North and South, half a mile; the houses, on the left, are built against the mountain, with others immediately over them; those on the right, stand near a precipice. The mountain is too elevated to support vegetation, and no goat has climbed it. In

passing still on to the North [South] after leaving Bylan, commences the fourth and last pass, for distinction termed the grand pass into Syria. The road continues ten or fifteen feet wide for half a mile, with a height on the left, and a parapet wall on the right, skirting a precipitous chasm between two mountains. Where the road widens, the descent begins, which is rugged and crooked for five miles: a mile and a half tolerably level, is succeeded by the plain of Antioch, eighteen miles across.

This will serve as a picture of the complicated difficulties in a series of defiles.

Travellers preparing to pass Taurus from Cappadocia into Cilicia, lay in three days' provision; and the ascent and descent occupied Mr. Browne three days*.

Alexander's army was seventeen days in passing mount Parapamisus: but as it was afterwards six days in passing a river, the Oxus—the time must be considered as the combined effect of difficult avenues, and of the necessity of passing a large body in small divisions; or seventeen may be divided by six.

The Caspian streit is prolonged eight miles: its general breadth is forty yards; in the narrowest places, it is winding, and only wide enough for a carriage. The mountains on each side are very high; the bottom is generally level, and along it, at certain seasons, a considerable stream of salt water flows towards the desert on the south. The chasm does not bisect the great body of the Caspian mountains, but only inferior ridges†.

Some points of ancient geography are yet, and some will ever be, objects of speculation more or less founded on steps of modern discovery and ancient vestiges.

* Heylin's *Cosmography*, p. 622. Browne's *Travels*, p. 411.

† Rennell's *Geography of Herodotus*, p. 114.

Cyropolis is usually referred to the site of Cogend, on the Jaxartes, but its position is rather indicated to have been on the Polytimetus, by circumstances both in Curtius and Arrian, and particularly by the commemoration in Arrian, that the channel of the river running through the city was dry at the time of assault.

The tract assigned to the Parapamisadæ concurs fully with the hint in Arrian and the particular account of Curtius.

The patches of Arid Desert, in Gedrosia, are thrown in according to indications in the march of Alexander, as related by Curtius; and, where Curtius ceases to be particular, they are shaped to inferences from the course of march, as described by Arrian.

The kingdom of Abisares, a tract north of Porus, to which Alexander did not divert his march, I consider to be the modern Cashmire. The districts of the Oxydracæ and Malli fall rather lower according to Curtius, than according to Arrian: but as it is difficult to find space for all the powerful kingdoms and states which Alexander subdued in the narrow but long slip of region east of the Indus, this promotes the general arrangement. The sites given to tribes on the lower trunk of the Indus, correspond with short notes in the translation, where I have frequently used Dr. Vincent's name as equivalent to a dissertation.

As far as I am able to judge, such points as Dr. Vincent has laid down hypothetically, appear to be tenable, in proportion to the confidence which he expresses.

The following extract invites new suggestions from those whose pursuits embrace that division of his extensive subject:

"Although D'Anville has proved, that the rivers which fall "into the gulf [below Busheer] are all derived from the range "which runs parallel with the coast, and forms the back "ground of the Kermesir, he is undoubtedly mistaken in the

" course and names he gives to some of those in the upper " part of the gulf; and I am not fully furnished with mate- " rials to correct his errors." *Nearchus*, 2d edit. p. 315.

In the outline of the body of the Persian Gulf, the map follows Dalrymple's chart, except that every point of longitude is removed half a degree toward the west. The upper part is restored to its ancient state, as far as it can be collected.

It is recorded by Arrian, Strabo, and other ancient writers, that there was formerly a lake, (that is, a marine fen, or gulf within islets and shoals), at the head of the Persian Gulf, which received the mixed waters of the Tigris, of the Choaspes and Eulæus, and of the Pasitigris, before they reached the sea. D'Anville and De la Rochelle give this lake a direction parallel to the Tigris, and perpendicular to the gulf. I subscribe to Dr. Vincent's opinion, that it had a contrary direction, because Nearchus, already at the mouth of the Euphrates, when to approach the Pasitigris, he took a course nearly retrograde, in sailing through this lake, kept Susiana on his left hand. Reading Arrian's *Indica* by the medium of translations, may I propose to fill up an elliptical passage in the 42d chapter, bearing on this and other points; a passage in which Grecians acknowledge a remnant of difficulty? " From [the beginning " of] this lake to the river itself, [the Pasitigris,] it is six hun- " dred stadia; where is a village of the Susians called Aginis, " five hundred stadia distant from Susa. The whole length " of the Susian coast [measured in two sections] to the mouth " of the Pasitigris, [adding the distance between the Arosis " and the Pasitigris to the six hundred stadia from the Tigris,] " is two thousand stadia*." We have, thus, three controlling

* The basis of this paraphrase is from Rooke: Dr. Vincent has withdrawn his original construction of the passage. Had he presented the substitute as removing every obscurity, I had implicitly followed it.

bearings to aid in fixing where the mouth of the Pasitigris WAS. I measure the distance from Aginis to Susa, as if the road were quite strait, a circumstance barely possible in a level country. Along the coast, I average a thousand stadia at seventy miles: Arrian makes the distance from the Indus to the Euphrates, about 22,500 stadia: on the map, measuring great inflections of coast, the distance is twenty-two degrees and a half. The apparent shortness of the stadium may arise from minute curvatures in the actual track.

According to Curtius, the Pasitigris is a distinct and primary river. Arrian states, that Nearchus ascended the Pasitigris a short undefined distance, to meet Alexander marching from Persis to Susa; that on their junction, the admiral, received with honouring courtesy, WALKED in a procession to Susa; in another book, he relates, as a subsequent occurrence, that Alexander conducted the fleet, which lay ready at Susa, down the river Eulæus into the sea: does the connexion of these incidents prove, that Arrian makes the Eulæus and the Pasitigris one river, — that the same writer has called the same united stream by different names? I think not: I suspect rather, that Arrian has omitted a trivial incident, that after Nearchus debarked, some ordinary seaman carried the fleet into the Eulæus, and up to Susa. Every thing else in Arrian respecting the Pasitigris favours such a view.

If passages in Strabo respecting the confluence of the rivers falling into the lake, which has since been filled up by alluvial sediment, gradually deposited, were construed strictly, they would make the Tigris confluent with the Eulæus, which it is decidedly not. I regard similar notices in different authorities, some obscure, and some expressed with doubt, merely to import that the Susian rivers converged and blended their waters in a general estuary.

With regard to the Arosis of Curtius, the journal of Nearchus will not assist us to determine its mouth, unless we can prove, that some river corresponding with the Arosis near

Persepolis reaches the sea. Book v. ch. iv. 13, of Curtius, contains a difficult passage, of which there are two readings: that common to the MSS. is: *Medus*, A MARI, ET AD MERIDIEM VERSUS, *minor amnis eo quem accepit, evehitur*. Some German editions have: *ad mare et ad meridiem versus*. In the revised translation*, vol. ii. p. 24, I have followed the common reading, and translated it literally. By relying on the passage as it is, for it wants no conjectural emendation, some light may be drawn from it respecting the ancient course of the two rivers, and the distribution of their waters. "Through the plains, the river Arosis carries the water of "many brooks to the Medus: the Medus, DIVERTED [by "dams and canals for irrigation] FROM THE SEA, AND "TOWARD THE SOUTH, flows on, a less river than that "which it receives." By the "SEA," I understand the lake Bakhtegan, now sometimes called the *Dirge Nemeh* (*brackish sea*;) Had Curtius meant the Persian Gulf, he would have repeated the term "Red Sea," which he had employed a few lines above. We have no trace of this inland sea in any other ancient classic. The Arosis (the modern *Bund-Emeer*) after being partly intercepted, at this day reaches the salt lake. "The river *Bund-Emeer* takes its present name from a dyke "(in Persian a *bund*) erected by the celebrated Ameer Azad-a-"Doulah Delemi. It flows through the beautiful valley of "Merdesht, in which stand the magnificent ruins of Persepo-"lis; and on entering the rich and productive districts "of Kurjan, is divided into numberless channels, for the pur-"poses of irrigation. The part of the water, which is not "expended in the cultivation of the land, runs towards the "lake of Bakhtegan, and before entering it joins the Shamier, "a small stream which has its rise in a hot fountain."—KINNEIR'S *Memoir*, p. 59. The Persians have been always famous for giving an artificial direction to rivers; and the words of Curtius imply, that when his description was

* This part of the Commentary is re-written. 25th Aug. 1821.

originally taken, the river was still more completely intercepted and diverted, so as to prevent it from being ultimately lost in the salt lake; thus a great district to the west of the lake would be watered; perhaps a branch from the river might then communicate with that other Arosis which reaches the Persian Gulf. Its present course is ESE. "Our road, [in "returning from the Lake Bakhtegan to Shiraz along the "right bank of the Bandamir], was chiefly in a WNW. direc- "tion, through a country perfectly flat, with mountains "on both sides, and intersected by numerous drains cut for "the purposes of irrigation."—SIR W. OUSELEY'S *Travels in the East*, vol. ii. p. 179. Between the time of Alexander, and that of Azzad-ad-Douleh, the ancient works appear to have fallen into ruin; and from the boast of the latter, after constructing the dam which now exists—"I have erected a "mountain in the midst of a lake"—it may be inferred, that the vale between the present village of Bandamir and the salt lake was, by the stagnation of the surplus water, confounded previously with the lake itself.

Whether the ancient Medus and Arosis, after being DIVERTED TO THE SOUTH, was exhausted in fertilizing Cœle-Persis, or whether it pursued its way to the Persian Gulf, Curtius forbears to affirm. Nearchus found in the Gulf an Arosis, the largest river (he judged from its mouth) observed in his voyage. I cannot help connecting the Arosis near Persepolis with the Arosis of the coast: but I consider the intermediate section of river to be innavigable, and to penetrate a country not practicable in the same direction. Fryer, a Member of the Royal Society, who explored some part of the line of Alexander's marches, countenances this opinion. He says: "I crossed the river Bindamire, or the Araxes, famous for its "untraced windings upon the mountains, and sometimes "under their very bottoms, till, by its rapid course, it vents "itself into the sea."—*Travels in East India and Persia*, in 1672—1681, by JOHN FRYER, M.D. and F.R.S. p. 250.

GENEALOGY

OF

ALEXANDER THE GREAT.

Paternal Line.

From Temenus, son of Hercules, descended the Temenidæ, who long reigned in Argos; of this line, the last who bore the name of Temenus, was the father of Caranus, also an Argive. Caranus, also called Archelaus, the sixteenth in descent from Hercules, flourished towards the year 772 before the Christian era; and was the founder of the Macedonian kingdom. From his brother Cœnus descended

Tyrimas,
Perdiccas I.
Argæus,
Amyntas I.
Alexander I.
Perdiccas II.

He was succeeded by Archelaus an illegitimate son; and the latter by Orestes. But Orestes was slain by his guardian Æropus; under one of these, Pausanias claimed. Meanwhile the throne was filled by the third brother of Perdiccas, namely,

Philip Tharaleus,
Amyntas II.

Alexander II., Perdiccas III. Philip, three brothers, reigned in succession.

Alexander the Great.

Maternal Line.

With Achilles commences the ambitious pedigree; among the offspring of his son Pyrrhus, is numbered Pielus, whose mother was Andromache, Hector's widow.

The imperfect memorial of descent passes now to Alcon, whose immediate progenitors are unknown but he is said to have been of the race of Pielus. From him descended

Admetus, king of Epirus;
Arymbas,
Alcetas,
Neoptolemus,
Olympias,
Alexander the Great.

SUPPLEMENT

TO

QUINTUS CURTIUS;

CONSISTING OF TWO BOOKS:

BY

JOHN FREINSHEM.

WITH CORRECTIONS AND ADDITIONS,

BY

THE TRANSLATOR.

BOOK I.

THE BIRTH OF ALEXANDER.—THE BATTLE OF CHÆRONEA.—THE DEATH OF PHILIP.—THE DESTRUCTION OF THEBES.

CHAP. I.

Introduction. Philip had prepared facilities for the conquest of Persia. Birth of Alexander.

THE life and actions of Alexander, who wrested the empire from the Persians and transferred it to Greece, have been recorded by many Greek historians; of whom most were eye-witnesses—and some, as his associates and ministers, shared

in the glory—of his achievements. Alexander himself, from a desire of perpetual fame, commissioned several of his attendants to transmit to posterity memorials of his exploits. But though the simple facts were inherently great, the love of fable, natural to the Greeks, induced numbers of them to compose on this subject heroic rhapsodies, rather than biographies or histories. Among these, it is to be regretted that we must class Aristobulus*. He was a companion of Alexander in that expedition: but the many advantages he enjoyed for writing his master's life, were all counteracted by a want of fidelity to truth. Studious only to flatter the prince, whose character he did not understand, he ventured to solicit his attention to tracts professing to be narratives of his campaigns; which the magnanimous victor indignantly reproved as absurd and disgusting fictions. In one of these he had written, that Alexander fought a *single combat* with Porus, accompanied with other circumstances of monstrous exaggeration, beyond the facts of that memorable day

* This modified estimate, contrasting the characters of Aristobulus and Ptolemy, as original historians of Alexander: is substituted for the extravagant encomium on both which Freinshemius had adopted from Arrian's *Preface*. Arrian ascribes to the two an equal share of paramount authority, the union of which is to exclude all other primary writers from belief. For, he says, "Some things touched "upon by others, I deliver only as reports."

when the Indian rajah was vanquished. Aristobulus happening to read that passage to the king when they were together navigating the Hydaspes, Alexander threw the book into the river, adding: "It behoves me, Aristobulus, so "to treat thee also, who wouldst undertake "such an exploit for me, and art killing ele-"phants with a dart*!" This gross adulator of Alexander living, could not be transformed into an author of credit by the mere accident of surviving his master. Did he publish the original composition? This was notoriously falsified. Did he new-model his narrative after Alexander's death? So base a creature might attach himself to one of Alexander's successors as a partisan; and thus find a less noble patron, who would reward his ready talent at mendacity. I therefore regard the history of Aristobulus as useless; for where it agrees with other accounts, it cannot confirm any thing; and as to the incidents peculiar to it, who will believe them? I would rather leave a chasm in the narrative than supply it from such materials.

It is a relief, that among the original histories of Alexander, one is extant by Ptolemy, who was a distinguished lieutenant under the Conqueror of Asia; and afterwards the founder of the Greek dynasty which reigned in Egypt.

* Lucian. *Quomodo historia conscribenda sit*, par. 12.

He was in Alexander's confidence till his death; and to his military reputation added a character for learning and probity*. It may, indeed, be expected that he would not diminish his own share of renown in conducing to Alexander's victories†: on the other hand, we have a guarantee, in his prominent responsibility to his contemporaries as a royal author, that he would not transfer to himself the achievements which other great captains of Alexander were known to have performed. With regard to the closing scene of Alexander's life, he might be induced to suppress the gift of the signet to Perdiccas; for his interest, as an independent sovereign over Egypt, was irreconcilably opposed to the admission of that regent's claim to supreme power. In other respects the historical work of Ptolemy holds, in our estimation, the first place among the authorities extant; but not to the exclusion of other writers, whose claims to general credit were admitted in the Grecian school of literature.

Some eminent authors among my own countrymen have depreciated both the achievements of Alexander, and the Greek histories in which they are recorded. If ever there was a time when a national jealousy of the power of Macedon, and of the influence founded on her

* Vossii *Histor. Græc.* † Curtius, lib. ix. cap. v. s. 17.

military fame, might have been excused as a patriotic weakness, this feeling may be safely discarded, now that Macedon itself, and Syria, and Egypt, have fallen under the dominion of Rome*. But seeing that this invidious sentiment has stamped upon our literature many traces of its spirit†, I shall be guided in my estimate of the original historians of Alexander, by the evidence of Grecian monuments, and the testimony of subsequent writers born in Greece, and flourishing while their country retained independence; rather than by the charges and insinuations which might be gleaned from the pages of Roman poetry, history, or criticism.

Callisthenes, the Olynthian, a professor of philosophy, was, by the influence of Aristotle, appointed to attend Alexander in his expedition to the East. Whatever situation he was intended to fill, he appears to have assumed the dictatorial authority of a severe mentor. Among his works were: a *History of the Transactions of Greece before his own Times;* another of the *Trojan War*‡; and a third, which he did not live to finish, having been executed when

* Translation, vol. ii. *Narrative Sketch of the Successes of Alexander*, pp. 476 — 480.

† See at the end of the volume, ADDITIONAL NOTES, (A).

‡ Vossii—*De Historicis Græcis.*

both the work and the subject of it were in progress. His *History of the Actions of Alexander,* as far as it goes, cannot be suspected to err on the side of adulation; for he was a martyr to the determination to speak his mind to his master, however offensive his bluntness might be deemed*. I think we may rely upon his narrative of what he saw†. His style has not escaped the denunciation of several professed arbiters of taste. But if we are to adopt the too general conclusions of critics, founded on the exhibition of a few scattered faults, which appear venial till dislocated from their connexion, and brought together in a crude mass,—not one of the learned men in the train of Alexander, including the friend of Aristotle, knew how to write a history‡. We are to

* Curtius, lib. viii. cap. v. s. 19. — Justin, lib. xiii. 6, 7, tells us, that he was carried abroad by Alexander, on purpose to write his history.

† Notwithstanding, Polybius, lib. xii. 17, charges him with a total ignorance of tactics in his description of the battle of Issus. But see the censured passage in a note at the end of the volume, (B).

‡ Some of his expressions have been ridiculed as ambitious conceits; for they do not shine like stars, but glare like meteors. Longinus, *De Sublim.* Cicero says, that he wrote history in the style of an orator.—*Ep. ad Quintum,* 11, 12. His speech, however, as given by Curtius, *Translation,* vol. ii. p. 242, consists of a few forcible arguments in a concise style, and the figures are chaste and appropriate. It is a specimen of terseness and concinnity. Plutarch quotes his *History of Greece before his own Times* in his *Cimon and Agesilaus. Strabo,* lib. xvii. quotes his *History of the Actions of Alexander.* A spurious history, bearing the name of Callisthenes, is extant.

consider, too, that the last work of Callisthenes is a fragment, which wants the author's revision.

Clitarchus, also, attended the Conqueror in his expedition*; and composed a *History of Alexander*, which, if consulted with discrimination, may supply some deficiencies in Ptolemy and Callisthenes†. Where his occasional absence obliged him to describe a scene which he had not witnessed, his negligence, or his credulity, has left some inaccuracies; which we have detected by comparing the primary authorities‡. His style is vitiated by some extravagant figures, perhaps from a design to emulate the oriental standards of fine writing‖.

Timagenes lived in an age severed by a long interval from all these: but he is a better

* Diod. Sic. lib. ii. 7.

† It is probable that Curtius had recourse to him but sparingly; for Diodorus in this place cites Clitarchus as making the circumference of the walls of Babylon 365 stadia: whereas Curtius gives us 368 stadia as the sum. Athenæus, lib. xii. p. 530, lib. xiii. pp. 576, 586, quotes his *History of Alexander*. So Strabo, *passim*; Ælian. *Hist. Animal.* lib. xii. 2, 22, 23, 25; and Pliny, lib. vi. 13, 6.

‡ Curtius, *Translation*, vol. ii. p. 335.

‖ There is some discrepancy in the opinions of Cicero and Quintilian, as to the literary rank of Clitarchus. Cicero, *Ll.* i. 2, adduces Clitarchus, "as a specimen of the puerile style in history." Quintilian, *De Oratoria*, lib. x. 1, says: "His talents are acknowledged, but his veracity is impeached." Longinus, ix. 8, 15, blames his style as turgid, and lighter than a cork.

authority than this last; because by a new merit he restored that careful research in writing history which had been long in disuse*. He composed a biography of *Celebrated Kings*, which included the *Life of Alexander* †. In one instance he appears negligent, in not consulting all the authorities extant when he wrote ‡.

Hitherto the Roman historians, neglecting to investigate the records of other nations, have been content to write on the affairs of our own country; because in our actions as a victorious people, they found a subject abounding with noble materials, suited to the majesty of history, and in their judgment more instructive to the members of the commonwealth. As I esteem the labours of those writers to deserve commendation, so I hope that I shall not incur censure, if I attempt to give my countrymen an outline of that monarch, who, in the course of his short life, conquered so great a part of the world. His rapid success had an obvious foundation, and the precipitate dissolution of his dominion as conspicuous a cause: from both we may conclude, that the felicity of no commander can be lasting who is deserted by virtue.

* Quintiliani, Institut. de Oratoria, lib. x. 1. † Stephan. in Μιλυαί.
‡ Curtius, *ut supra*. See ADDITIONAL NOTES, (C).

Alexander was endowed with all the indications of genius, and inherited all the advantages of fortune, which might be expected in a prince destined to reach such an astonishing height of power.

The kings of Macedon derived their pedigree from Hercules; and Olympias, the mother of Alexander, traced the origin of her family to Achilles. Her son, from his infancy, wanted neither allurements nor examples to excite him in the pursuit of glory. His father, Philip, by successful wars and able policy, had won a lofty rank for his country, despised until his reign; and by forcing the Grecian republics into a confederate system under the ascendency of Macedonia, he had erected a power formidable to all the bordering states. He afterwards laid the foundation of still greater results, which were completed by his successor: having decided on attacking Persia, he levied men, collected provisions, raised money, and organized an army, ready at a signal to commence the expedition; and he had opened a passage into Asia by a separate detachment under Parmenio. His death, at this crisis, transferred to his son the great armaments and resources prepared for that war, and an opportunity to reap an undivided harvest of glory: which some have regarded as the work of fortune, ever auspicious

to Alexander. This prince excited so much admiration in his contemporaries, not only after he had completed his vast achievements, but even at the first stage of his career, that it was debated, whether it were not reasonable to ascribe his origin immediately to Jupiter, rather than to trace his descent from that deity by the medium of the Æacidæ and Hercules? After his visit to the temple of Ammon in Lybia, related in a subsequent book, nothing less would satisfy him than to be called the son of Jupiter. Many persons professed to believe, that 'Alexander was the offspring of a serpent, 'which had been seen in his mother's bed-'chamber, and that the king of the gods had 'assumed that disguise.' 'This account,' they urge, 'had been corroborated by dreams and 'prophecies,' and that when Philip sent to 'Delphi to consult respecting his son's birth, 'the oracle answered by this admonition: 'Highly revere Ammon.' On the other hand, reflecting writers insist, 'That the celestial side 'of his pedigree is entirely fiction: and that 'there is reason to suspect Alexander's mother 'of adultery with Nectanebus, king of Egypt; 'who, when expelled from his kingdom, made 'not Ethiopia his asylum, as had been com-'monly believed, but proceeded to Macedon, 'to solicit support from Philip against the

'power of the Persians. That received at the 'court of Pella, he there triumphed over the 'virtue of Olympias by magical enchantments. 'That from the time of surmising this, Philip 'jealously surveyed her conduct; and the im-'putation appeared to be the chief cause of 'their subsequent divorce. That at a feast 'made to celebrate the marriage of Philip with 'Cleopatra,—Attalus, the uncle of the new 'queen, insulted Alexander by an indirect al-'lusion to the illegitimacy of his birth, while 'the king disowned him as a son. That the 'rumour imputing adultery to Olympias was 'not confined to Macedon, but had been dif-'fused among the nations which Alexander 'conquered. That the fiction of the serpent 'was an imitation of ancient fables, in order to 'conceal the ignominy of the queen his mother. 'And that the Messenians had formerly circu-'lated a similar story concerning Aristomenes; 'and the Sicyonians concerning Aristodamas.' We know, indeed, that a parallel report prevailed among our ancestors concerning that Scipio who first triumphed over Carthage. So, likewise, the birth of Augustus was attributed to a divine cause. As to Romulus, why should we go back to his extraordinary nativity; since there is no nation so contemptible, as not to derive its origin either from some god or the

offspring of a god? Still it should be recollected, that those who convert the fugitive Nectanebus into the father of Alexander, commit a perceptible anachronism; for Alexander was six years of age when the vanquished Egyptian monarch was dethroned by Ochus: but the impossibility of the account respecting Nectanebus, does not make the tale about Jupiter probable. Olympias herself, when relieved from apprehension by her husband's death, rallied the vanity of her son, who would have it believed that he was sprung from Jupiter; and she begged him in a letter, 'Not to 'expose her to Juno's indignation, as she had 'been guilty of nothing that deserved that 'punishment*.' However, during Philip's life, she is represented to have been the person most solicitous to confer credit and currency upon the fable. Even when Alexander was setting out upon his expedition into Asia, she admonished him, 'To be mindful of his origin, and 'to do nothing unworthy of so great a father.'

It is generally admitted, that between the time of his mother's conception and the birth of Alexander, several prodigies indicated that an extraordinary person should be born. Philip saw, in his sleep, the womb of Olympias sealed up with a ring, on which was engraven the

* *Attic Nights of Aulus Gellius*, lib. xiii. cap. 10.

figure of a lion; as a memorial of this, the city Alexandria in Egypt, subsequently founded, long bore the name of Leontopolis. Aristander, the ablest diviner of that age, afterwards the chief-priest of Alexander, interpreted this dream to portend, that the infant should excel in courage and magnanimity. On the night in which Olympias gave birth to this child, the temple of Diana at Ephesus, the most celebrated in Asia, was destroyed by fire: this conflagration was the act of a profligate incendiary, who, being apprehended and put to the torture, confessed, that despairing of fame by good actions, his aim, in perpetrating this impiety, was to transmit his name to after-ages by a stupendous crime. The Magi residing at Ephesus did not estimate this merely as a temporary ruin, but as presaging some great subversion of power; and they disturbed the city by reiterating this mournful prediction: "There is in some part of the world a torch "kindled, which shall one day consume all the "East." At the same point of time, Philip happened to complete the subjugation of Potidæa, a colony of the Athenians; received intelligence, that a crown had been awarded to him at the Olympic games, whither he had sent chariots: while a courier arrived from Parmenio, announcing a decisive victory over the

Illyrians. To the king, exulting in the fruition of his plans every where, the parturition of Olympias was now notified; and *Olymp.* cvi. 1. the diviners confidently predicted, *A. C.* 356. 'That the prince who was born amid palms 'and processions for so many triumphs, would 'be invincible.' Philip, amazed at such a concurrence of happy events, and dreading the envy of the celestials, implored the goddess Nemesis, 'To be contented with revenging 'these indulgencies of fortune by a moderate 'calamity.' Another remarkable incident has been recorded. 'In the city of Pella, two 'eagles sat, during a whole day, upon the 'house where the queen was delivered;' a presage 'that Alexander should become master 'of the empires both of Asia and Europe.' This interpretation might be assigned, without danger of mistake, after the event had occurred. I have also before me authors who say, that 'Alexander's birth was attended with lightning, 'thunder, and an earthquake.'

The most accurate historians fix the date of this nativity on a day in the month of *Loüs*, as it was called by the Macedonians, answering to the twenty-first day of July, in the beginning of the 106th Olympiad, when Elpines was prætor of Athens. At this era, our republic had subsisted nearly four hundred years; and the

Roman arms, exercised in wars with the contiguous states, were, by daily ascendancy, displaying a prelude to the subjugation of the world.

CHAP. II.

Education of Alexander. He gives early indications of an heroic mind. Description of his person. Anecdote of Leonidas. Anecdote of the Persian ambassadors.

PHILIP now found an object for anxious deliberation in the education of his son. The wise and patriotic king perceived, that his own efforts to elevate Macedon would be unavailing, should his death, while his great designs were floating, leave the government in the hands of an uninformed and indolent prince. He reflected, that the permanence of his own celebrity might be affected by the character of his successor; and that the character of his successor might depend greatly on the talents and virtues of a preceptor. Under these impressions, he addressed a letter to Aristotle, of which the elegance is constantly acknowledged.

"PHILIP TO ARISTOTLE. Health!

"A son is born to me: I thank the gods, "not so much for making me a father, as for "giving me a son in an age when he can have "Aristotle for his instructor. I confide that "you will make him a prince worthy to suc- "ceed me, and qualified to govern Macedonia."

Aristotle was at Athens, exercising his acumen in discussions with his master, Plato, when he received the invitation of Philip; with which he complied as soon as the young prince had attained an age capable of profiting from a superior course of instruction. Aristotle remained at Athens till Plato's death. The next three years he passed with Hermias, a fellow-student, who had become the minor sovereign of Atarna, a Greek city of Mysia. After his friend had been deposed by Artaxerxes, Aristotle escaped to Mytilene *; where he remained two years. Meanwhile Alexander was growing up under fostering advantages, calculated to prepare him for such a master. Leonidas, a relation of the queen, acted as the prince's guardian and tutor, conjointly with Lysimachus of Acarnania: the physician, Philip, another

* Diog. Laert. lib. v. s. 3, 9. Dion. Halic. *Epist ad Amm.* cap. 5.

native of that country, had the charge of his health: in Hellanica, daughter of Dropis, and sister of Clitus *, he had a nurse equally happy in the soundness of her constitution, and the correct tone of her manners. When he had been a few years under their care, Alexander promised to become that great king which he afterwards proved. Extraordinary fire and activity animated his tender limbs; and in the marks of heroic genius, he far outstripped his years. He despised the fopperies of dress, saying, 'That solicitude to adorn the exterior was 'becoming in women, who had no endowments 'more considerable than personal charms; and 'that if he could attain the first class in virtue, 'he should be sufficiently handsome.'

Symmetry moulded his infant form, and regulated his growth to manhood; the evident strength and firmness of his joints impressed the spectator with an idea of great vigor; and being but of middling stature, he was in reality stronger than he appeared. His skin was fair, except on his cheeks and his breast, where it was tinged with an agreeable red. His yellow hair waved in slight curls; his nose was aquiline; his eyes are represented to have been dissimilar in colour, the right appearing jet black, the left inclining to blue; some magical power in their

* Plut. in Alex.

expression, nevertheless, penetrated the beholder with respect and awe. He excelled in swift-running; an exercise which he continued after he became king, from experience of its great use in expeditions; and he frequently contended in a foot-race for a prize with the most agile in the camp. He bore fatigue with a persevering firmness that cannot be adequately described; and this quality repeatedly extricated both himself and his army from great extremities. Regular exercise, operating with his warmth of constitution, so dissipated the morbid humours which commonly loiter under the skin, that not only his breath was fragrant, but the effluvia from his pores had a congenial purity, which gave his clothes a grateful * odour. To his ardor of temperament, some attribute his irritability and propensity to wine. Statues and portraitures of him are still extant, the works of superior artists; for Alexander, while he expressly authorized a few, prohibited all others from attempting, to take his likeness, lest the character of greatness in his features, should elude the vulgar pretender to the name of painter or sculptor. Selected from the first class in each profession, Apelles alone was permitted to make Alexander the subject of his pencil; Pyrgoteles to engrave him on gems; Lysip-

* *See* ADDITIONAL NOTES (D.)

pus to model him for statues in marble and bronze

Leonidas, the governor of Alexander, is stated to have walked too fast; and his pupil, to have adopted that custom without being able afterwards to correct it. Aware that example strongly influences the young, I am yet inclined to attribute this trait in his carriage, rather to his native temper than to habit commencing in imitation; his impetuous spirit would naturally communicate to the movements of his body corresponding vivacity. His successors on the throne, so far from accounting this hastiness a blemish, studiously affected it: nor to this confining their servile imitations, they assumed his elevated tone; attempted his piercing intelligence of look; and descended to mimic an inclination in his neck towards his left shoulder: while they were too imbecile to emulate him in mind. Of many Macedonian kings, the long inglorious life, would furnish scarcely a trait worthy to be compared with one of the sentiments or actions which distinguished the childhood of Alexander. The manly boy never expressed or perpetrated any thing approaching to meanness or turpitude, but preserved a superiority of conduct agreeing with his subsequent fortune. Highly ambitious

* The name of Polycletus, which Freinshemius had joined with that of Lysippus, the Translator has suppressed as an anachronism.

of praise, he did not affect to draw it indifferently from every thing: but courted fame only as it is allied to excellence in laudable pursuits; sensible that plaudits bestowed on sordid actions, are dishonourable gratuities, and that emulation is noble, and victory illustrious, in proportion to the greatness of the competitor. On its being suggested to him, 'That his being an excellent runner should 'induce him to enlist at the Olympic games, 'after the example of a king of his name, in 'order that the fame of his swiftness might 'circulate over Greece:' the magnanimous youth answered: "I would dispute the prize "there, could I have kings for competitors." While Philip was constantly adding some opulent city or strong military position to the national possessions, while victory after victory filled the Macedonian people with exultation,—Alexander was frequently the solitary subject of grief which he was unable to conceal, and which urged him to utter this complaint among boys of his own age: "My father will leave "nothing for you and me to do when we "come to be men." He had a stronger passion for honour than for riches; and regarded accessions of power and revenue which he had not contributed to effect, as diminishing his opportunities of glory.

He was naturally satisfied with short inter-

vals of sleep; and increased his wakefulness by art: whenever a subject required uninterrupted meditation, he rested only his limbs, with the extremity of one arm out of bed, holding a silver ball over a basin, that its fall might disturb him, should he slumber.

From infancy he delighted to worship the gods by splendid offerings: once, at a sacrifice, he flung so much incense into the fire, that the severe and parsimonious Leonidas, to check his profusion, exclaimed: 'You may burn incense 'in this manner, when you conquer the coun-'tries where it grows.' When, afterwards, Alexander had reduced some emporium of incense-bearing Arabia*, remembering this reproof, he sent to Leonidas many talents in weight of this perfume; desiring his former Mentor, 'To be more liberal for the future, in

* *Quum postea thuriferam Arabiam pacâret.* FREINSHEMIUS. Alexander conquered Arabia as he conquered the world, that is, he reduced, or awed, such parts of it as lay contiguous to the track of his great expedition. He made an incursion into the north of Arabia, while he was besieging Tyre; it is thought that he then took the emporium, Petra Nabathæa:—and he founded a city on the borders of Arabia Deserta, during his survey of the Chaldean marshes, just before his death:—but even when master of Persia, he made no preparation for traversing the interior of the vast Arabian peninsula; and he did not live to send a fleet round the fragrant coast of "Araby "the blest," as he appears to have designed. *Compare* Curt. B. IV. ii. 10.—X. i. 2.—X. v. 11.

Respecting the tree which produces *Olibanum*, see ADDITIONAL NOTES (E).

'paying to the gods the honors of sacrifice, since 'he may now perceive that they remunerate, 'with bounteous increase, cheerful oblations.'

While a child, Alexander gave multiplied indications of penetration and superior genius. Artaxerxes, surnamed Ochus, was at this time king of Persia: Artabazus and Menapis, two satraps of that monarchy, with Memnon of Rhodes, a general of reputation, revolted in concert, and marched an army against their sovereign: but they were defeated by the royal forces; on which they fled from Asia to the court of Philip. Alexander, who had not attained seven years of age, delighted in the society of the strangers, from whom he often sought information, concerning the affairs of Persia; his questions, the reverse of puerile, were of this tenor: 'Whether the inhabitants 'of that country were valiant, and what de- 'scription of arms they used? What was the 'distance from Macedonia to Susa, and in 'how many days might a traveller reach that 'capital? What kind of life the king led? 'What were his exercises and diversions? 'What his character with respect to bravery 'and virtue?' After the Persian fugitives had resided sometime in Macedonia, their sovereign pardoned them, through the mediation of Mentor, the brother of Memnon, and brother-in-law

of Artabazus, who had intermarried with their sister. The ambassadors deputed from the court of Susa to that of Pella, to demand of Philip the recalled officers, frequently saw and conversed with Alexander: his qualities and attainments, contrasted with his tender years, struck them with admiration: one of them exclaimed to his colleagues: "This young "prince is great: ours is rich."

The future conqueror of Darius owed his superior talents not more to nature than to cultivation. Philip, conscious of his own obligations to the lessons of Epaminondas; and sensible that he had effected more by his eloquence and knowledge than by his power; — made enlarged provisions for educating his son. He renewed his princely overtures, inviting Aristotle to reside at his court, there to unfold to Alexander the elements of literature, of the liberal arts, and of science, and with every stage of these to connect moral instruction*. "May he be "taught," said Philip, "to avoid those errors "which I have committed, and of which I "now repent †." The founder of the Lycæum at length accepted the important office of teaching a prince how to reign.

* Plut. in Alex. — Isocrat. Lit. ad Alex.

† Plut. in Apophth.

Each of the masters of Alexander excelled in his department; their concurring instruction imbued his mind with elevated sentiments; while their discipline brought his body to such a temperament, that it was adequate to every kind of military exercise, and could surmount all varieties of fatigue: nor was he frivolously employed, when engaged at tennis, or in a manly description of dance; for these recreations did not so much relax his mind as prepare his limbs for important occupations.

Lysimachus had already, either to flatter his pupil, or from a presentiment of his greatness, called himself Phœnix; Philip, Peleus; and his pupil, Achilles *.

CHAP. III.

Progress of Alexander's education. Philip's reward to Aristotle. The Philosopher long retained an influence over his former Pupil. Anecdotes of Cassander. Timotheus. Anaximenes. Alexander slights comedians and pugilists; a general patron of other arts.

AS Alexander approached the age of puberty, and became capable of serious studies, it ap-

* Plut. in Alex.

peared fitting that Aristotle should be constantly with him. The prince had the benefit of the sage's society, from the time when Philip recalled Aristotle from the city of Mytilene till Alexander, having succeeded to the throne, commenced his expedition into Asia; an interval of eight years*. During that time, he thoroughly studied every branch of knowledge in which so eminent a master could instruct him. In particular, he sought information in Natural History, with an intensity which increased as events fortified his expectation of attaining the empire of the world. When he had ascended the throne, he furnished Aristotle with facilities for cul-

* Freinshemius has not defined the interval, perhaps because he found statements very contradictory. Alexander was about thirteen years old when Aristotle commenced the office of tutor. The chronology, adopted in the text, is deduced from a letter addressed to Ammæus by Dionysius of Halicarnassus, already referred to, p. 16, *supra*. Aristotle—born at Stagira, and educated at the court of Pella, where his father was king's physician—went to reside at Athens in his eighteenth year, A. C. 367. There, as the scholar or assistant of Plato, he continued near twenty years. On the death of his master, A. C. 348, Aristotle left Athens; and spent three years at Atarna, and two at Mytilene. He returned to Pella in the forty-third year of his age, A. C. 343. After having been employed eight years in the education of Alexander, he again visited Athens, A. C. 335. There he taught during twelve years in the Lycæum. Having discontinued his public labours, he, in the year following, died at Chalcis, ætat. sixty-three, A. C. 323, and a year after the death of Alexander.

tivating that science, and collecting specimens on an august scale; placing under his direction such of the inhabitants of Greece and Asia as subsisted by hunting, fowling, or fishing, or who possessed skill and experience in those arts, that their services might enable the philosopher to frame a treatise, free from error and doubt, respecting the nature of animals. The king advanced the naturalist eight hundred talents to defray the charges of the undertaking. The gratification felt by Alexander in contributing to the progress of Natural History, led him to expend vast sums in sowing the seeds of information, of which it was not probable that he would live to reap the fruits. An hundred years after his death, deer were taken with golden chains about their necks, which had been affixed, by his orders, to enable posterity to explode or confirm the accounts assigning extreme longevity to those animals.

After the conquest of Babylon, Alexander found in the archives of Chaldean science, a series of astronomical observations, which had been carefully registered in that ancient capital for above nineteen centuries. By his order, a faithful copy of them was transmitted to Aristotle

* Porphyr. apud Simplicium, in Aristot. de Cœlo, l. ii.

When Alexander heard that Aristotle had published an abstract of his *esoteric division of science,* which opened to the student all the ultimate attainments of the master, in the search for and discovery of first principles; although the king was then on the point of overpowering Darius by the progress of his arms, in Asia, he wrote to his former preceptor, complaining that he had divulged these sublime doctrines. Andronicus, the philosopher, has preserved the * correspondence.

"ALEXANDER TO ARISTOTLE. Health!

"You have not acted well in publishing "your Acroatic Lectures; for wherein shall "I hereafter excel, if the instructions which "I have received from you be made common "to all? I would rather be the greatest in "honourable attainments, than the most emi-"nent in power. Farewell."

The founder of the Lycæum replies in the same style of elegant brevity:

"ARISTOTLE TO KING ALEXANDER. Health!

"You have written to me concerning my "Acroatic Lectures, thinking that they ought "to be preserved and not communicated:—

* Aul. Gell. *Attic. Noct. lib. xx. cap.* 5.

" know that they are communicated, but not
" made public; for they are in the possession
" of those only who hear me. Farewell."

With a similar jealousy, lest knowledge should be profaned by unveiling it to the vulgar, the Macedonian prince, when he demanded from the philologist his books on rhetoric, prohibited him from communicating these tracts to any other person. Ambitious to be no less preeminent in the arts and sciences than in power and greatness, he could not endure that the lowest of mankind should share with him in their milder light and glory.

There is also internal evidence in his letters, that he had been instructed in the medical art, by another person named Aristotle, the son of a physician descended from Æsculapius.

But to return to the founder of the Lycæum: the royal pupil so heartily cultivated that branch of Ethics which teaches self-command, as a chief qualification for commanding others; that he is considered to have effected the subversion of the Persian empire, that immense fabric of power, rather by magnanimity, prudence, temperance, and fortitude, than by his riches and arms. Alexander him-

self acknowledged, 'That he owed as much to 'Aristotle as to Philip; from the one he had 'derived life—from the other the principles of 'living virtuously and honourably.' Nevertheless, some moral writers have suggested, not without foundation, that the ambition which naturally glowed in the breast of the Macedonian hero, was stimulated to an ungovernable flame by the excessive value which Aristotle assigned to honour and glory, the philosopher having classed them with things which he termed essential goods. That Alexander not only multiplied wars to extend his dominions, but ultimately required that his fellow-men should worship him as a god,—they ascribe to this false estimate of fame.

Aristotle had not to wait till the accession of Alexander for distinction and reward: in Philip's lifetime he received, in the reestablishment of his country, an invaluable recompense for his services in forming the mind of Alexander. The city of Stagira, where the philosopher was born, being a dependency of the republic of Olynthus, was involved in the misfortunes of that city: the Olynthians had displayed inveterate hostility to Philip; for, being neighbours of Macedon, which they had hitherto rivalled in power, they could not patiently see this politic and martial king proceed

in acquisitions of territory and revenue, which might enable him, eventually, to inflict destruction or impose servitude upon the adjoining states. The minds both of the encroaching and the resisting party were inflamed; and their stubborn contests, ferociously conducted. Philip at length obtained a decisive victory, which he sullied by a vindictive triumph. The city of Olynthus he plundered and levelled to its foundations: he sold the inhabitants as slaves. With the other dependent cities, Stagira equally suffered these severities: but Philip afterwards evinced his affection to Aristotle by giving him funds to rebuild it. When the city was repeopled, Aristotle framed for the inhabitants a code of laws which was permanently observed. Thus the wisdom of one citizen restored from ruins a city which the efforts of many brave men could not preserve, when it stood a flourishing place, from pillage, fire, and desolation. To crown his favours to the tutor of his son, Philip set apart, in the vicinity of Stagira, a park laid out into shady walks, interspersed with alcoves, and ornamented with statues, for the use of the Peripatetic school*.

Philip frequently admonished the prince, such was his estimation of Aristotle, to be strenuous in the pursuit of wisdom under so great

* Plut. in Alex.

a master, lest he should hereafter commit many acts which might excite remorse and entail infamy. Nor did Alexander's deference for his preceptor terminate with the season of tuition: after the prince had undertaken the supreme duties of government, he maintained an epistolary correspondence with Aristotle; soliciting not only explanations of *arcana* in the sciences, but correctives for his manners. Aristotle on one of these occasions replied, 'That the best 'way Alexander could take for making himself 'and his subjects happy, was to remember that 'great power was not given him to injure mankind, but to do them good.' The philosopher, knowing the monarch to be subject to paroxysms of rage, added, 'That he would do well 'to set bounds to his anger; that it was below 'him to fly into intemperate sallies against his 'inferiors; and that he had not an equal to 'provoke his indignation.' This plainness was well received. Eventually, however, when Alexander suffered pride to usurp over reason, his deference to Aristotle declined, and was at last displaced by contempt and aversion: the latter became rooted, after he had ordered the death of Callisthenes, which he conceived must have made Aristotle his enemy. After this act, he imagined that the Stagyrite, incited by revenge, vexed him with disputes, which had no

foundation in just principles, under a pretext of despising human grandeur and ambition. At the same time, Alexander discouraged in others the custom of arguing according to the method invented by the philosopher. When Cassander, a little before the Conqueror's death, was endeavouring to vindicate his father from a series of weighty charges; Alexander, interrupting him, exclaimed, 'That he had become 'acquainted with the artifices of the logic in- 'troduced by Aristotle, which taught the dis- 'putant to elude well-founded complaints by 'fallacious quibbles.' He added, 'That he 'would inflict exemplary punishment on them 'both, if he found the accusation against Anti- 'pater true.' This he pronounced in so angry a tone, and with so severe a countenance, that when, long after the king's remains were in a mausoleum, Cassander, who had become master of Greece, saw a painting of Alexander at Delphi, his whole frame trembled; so vividly did the picture remind him of his former danger. The explanation by Cassander of the strange effect of the picture occasioned a turn in the conversation unfavourable to Aristotle, and a reiteration of the popular rumour, that it was by his contrivance that the poison which killed Alexander was carried to Babylon in a horse's hoof.

Alexander naturally delighted in music, and from infancy cultivated it with earnest application, till such time as his father asked him, 'Whether he was not ashamed to play so elegantly?' From this moment, he neglected it as an art in which, to finger like a professor, would not reflect lustre on a diadem. This revolution in his taste happened in the midst of a lesson from his music-master; by whom being afterwards desired to touch a particular string, according to a scientific principle, "What will "the consequence be," said Alexander, "if I "should touch this?" pointing to another. The teacher replied: "It matters not with a per- "sonage who is to be a king, but it concerns "a pupil who would be a good performer." Alexander afterwards listened with delight only to music of a bold and manly character, and manifested an antipathy to soft effeminate airs, as tending to corrupt the manners. Thus discriminating, he warmly patronized Timotheus, a celebrated professor: this unequalled master consulted Alexander's taste in his scientific compositions; and on one occasion, when performing on the lyre, so ravished the conqueror by Phrygian airs, that the effect resembled inspiration: fired by the sound, the king started to seize his arms, as though the enemy were approaching.

Before Alexander received the three books of rhetoric from Aristotle, he had studied eloquence under Anaximenes, the Lampsacenian. This circumstance afterwards conduced to preserve the city of Lampsacum, when Alexander resolved to destroy it, because it had espoused the interests of the Persians. The king, beholding Anaximenes while approaching without the walls, and apprehending that the rhetorician intended to petition for an amnesty to his country, swore, by the deities of Greece, 'that he 'would not grant that which he should request.' Anaximenes, having overheard this, with great presence of mind, implored the conqueror "to "destroy Lampsacum." Alexander, bound to mercy by his oath, and charmed to generosity by his old preceptor's address, spared the city, and received the inhabitants into favour.

In his early youth, Alexander despised COMEDIANS: but afterwards conforming to the taste of Greece, he patronized them at public entertainments*. Pugilists generally acted prominent parts in the games and spectacles of Greece: but these likewise were neglected by the son of Philip, perhaps because he would not encourage them to live in pampered idleness, to waste, in sports upon a stage, that vigour of muscle which would have been usefully exerted in the service of their country.

* See ADDITIONAL NOTE, (F).

He, however, attentively cherished all arts incontestably beneficial, without narrowly regarding their affinity with his own studies. Hence there was at his court a confluence of talents and skill from all parts of the world; the first men in each profession came either to exhibit specimens of art, or to dedicate to him monuments of genius; for which they commonly received immense sums, from a munificent king whose fortune was as expansive as his mind. And it was the common practice of Alexander to transmit liberal presents to inhabitants of remote places who were eminent for virtue or erudition. This fostering patronage so conduced to multiply learned men and excellent artists, that scarcely in any age, did useful employments, elegant arts, and scientific studies, flourish more extensively. As the manners and pursuits of the people are commonly influenced by the example of the prince; so, almost universally, the improvement, or declension, of a nation, reflects honour, or disgrace, upon those who govern.

CHAP. IV.

Alexander's admiration of Homer. Sketch of his manners. He tames Bucephalus.

ABOVE all the monuments of antiquity, Alexander esteemed the works of Homer; whom

alone he considered to have perfectly described the wisdom by which empires subsist; and he made him such a bosom companion, that he was called Homer's lover. He was accustomed to carry the Iliad and Odyssey always with him; and on retiring to bed, laid them, with his sword, under his pillow; he styled them his "military Viaticum, and the elements of "warlike virtue." He accounted Achilles happy in having such a herald of his fame.

Among the treasures taken at Damascus, was a casket of elegant materials and workmanship, in which the Persian king had kept rare and costly perfumes. Alexander's attendants, presenting the box, asked him, 'To what use 'it should be applied?' He answered: "I "use no perfumes, but shall put into it some- "thing more precious*. We will dedicate it "to Homer; for the most valuable production "of human intellect will be fitly preserved in "the finest piece of manual art." Hence the most correct copy of that poet's works, which Alexander had obtained after much research, was called "the edition of the casket."

Once Alexander saw a messenger hastily approaching, with his right hand presented, and anticipated welcome in his countenance, as if confident that his intelligence would please. "What news can you tell me," said the king,

* Aul. Gell. *Attic. Noct.*

" that is worthy so much joy, unless it be that " Homer is restored to life?" The Macedonian hero, on the summit of success, desired this alone to complete his happiness — a writer qualified to perpetuate his glory.

By repeatedly reading the poems of Homer, Alexander had them nearly all by memory; so that he quoted them familiarly and appositely; and no person could judge of them more justly. He was charmed with the moral beauty of the verse, wherein Agamemnon is praised, both as A GOOD KING AND A BRAVE WARRIOR. Feeling this to be a great incentive to virtue, he made it the standard of his manners.

Imbued with this discipline of the heart, Alexander preserved in his deportment a dignity suitable to his fortune; while he avoided the haughty and libertine conduct which usually accompanies the possession of power. His habiliments and personal comforts scarcely distinguished him from a private person; for he considered that a prince ought to surpass his subjects rather in beneficence than in exterior ornament. His temper was cheerful; and he was affable to his attendants, without sinking to familiarities that would have made him little. He affected no distaste for wine, but avoided intoxication; and when relaxing with his friends, preferred conversation to drinking. He appeared to have extinguished voluptuous wishes,

rather than to have regulated them; and from his indifference to the charming half of society, his mother, at one time, apprehended that the house of Macedonia would be left without an heir. Afterwards, he held it as an inviolable law, that he ought not to invade a subject's conjugal rights. To these maxims of life and manners he long adhered; and acted the part of a great and worthy king, till a torrent of success shook his moderation, WHICH by degrees he entirely lost.

The young prince astonished his father and the court, by his dexterity in managing the horse Bucephalus, a name given to the animal from his being marked with the figure of an ox's head. Thessaly was then famous for its breed of fine horses, yet none of that country could be compared to Bucephalus for beauty or vigor; Philonicus, a Pharsalian, considering the noble animal to deserve an illustrious master, brought him to Philip, and offered to sell him for sixteen talents. £3600. The parties proceeded to a plain to try the horse's speed and temper; when one of the king's grooms attempted to mount him, the animal refusing to be touched, reared and plunged violently; and his fierceness made other attendants who approached to manage him, relinquish the attempt. Philip, regarding so wild and unmanageable an animal as useless, desired that he might be led away. Alexander, on

hearing this order, cried out: "What an ex-
"cellent horse are we going to lose, for want
"of address and boldness to mount him!"
The king at first considered this exclamation to proceed from juvenile rashness; but on Alexander's insisting that it was practicable to ride the horse, permitted him to make the experiment, on condition that he should forfeit the price demanded for it if he failed. The young prince, exulting, advanced to Bucephalus, and seized his bridle. He had observed that the animal had started at the motion of his own shadow, he therefore turned his head toward the sun. But the horse's fury is not much abated; Alexander strokes his mane, and speaks to him in a soothing voice. Still the horse foams with rage; but the heroic youth having gently thrown aside his cloak, vaults into the saddle. Bucephalus, unused to obey, plunges, rears, strikes up his hind-feet, tosses his neck and head, and struggles to dislodge the bit, in order that he may dart away ungoverned. Alexander relaxes the forward rein, at the same moment spurring the horse, and with cheering tones animating him to exert all his swiftness. After flying over a long space, the wearied animal showed an inclination to stop; the prince, again spurring him, kept him at full speed till his spirit was entirely subdued. After which, he returned with the horse

gentle and tractable. When he alighted, his father, embracing him with tears of joy and kissing him, said, "My son, seek a larger "empire, for Macedon is too small for so vast a "spirit." Bucephalus ever afterwards obeyed his master with uniform submission, while he maintained his original fierceness toward other persons. "Alexander taming his horse," was a subject which the chief artists of that age were emulous to celebrate.—[*See* ADDITIONAL NOTES, (G).]

CHAP. V.

Alexander subdues the revolted Medari. Siege of Byzantium raised. Expedition against the Getæ. Sedition of the Triballi. Sketch of Philip's career and policy. The Athenians oppose Philip. Both parties send ambassadors to Thebes.

BY these and similar proofs of genius and courage, Alexander won the estimation of Philip. When the king marched to besiege Byzantium, such was his confidence in the abilities of his son, then but sixteen years of age, that he appointed him to govern in his absence. The Medari, a tribe in Thrace, subject to Macedon, seized this opportunity, as favouring a revolt which they had long meditated. The young prince, not displeased with an occasion for dis-

playing his military talents, promptly moved upon the rebels with the chief officers whom his father had left under him. Having taken Medari by storm, and exiled the insurgents, he gave their city to a colony drawn from various nations: and the new inhabitants named it Alexandrinopolis after the founder. Though Philip viewed the result of this affair with satisfaction, still he feared that the gallantry of Alexander, if left to its own impulse, might engage him in some undertakings above his ability, not without disaster; the king, therefore, sent for his son, in order that, under his own tuition, the young hero might learn to moderate ardor by prudence, while he assisted in reducing the cities of the Chersonesus by his firmness and alacrity.

The siege of Byzantium, a strong city, was still protracted; the brave resistance of the inhabitants, manfully fighting for their liberties, seconded by succours from Chios and Rhodes, had prevented Philip from reducing the place; at length a reinforcement of Athenians, under Phocion, debarking in the city, deprived him of all expectations of success. Hence Philip was compelled to study but one object—how to retire without further loss; and he found a pretext, under which he sheltered his military honour.

Previous to this, Atheas, king of the Getæ, had applied for the aid of Philip, to repel a

formidable inroad of the Istrians; promising, if the Macedonian arms should drive the invaders from his territory, to make Philip his heir. Soon after, however, the sudden death of the Istrian general relieved Atheas from apprehension; and he sent back the Macedonian forces, which had been detached to support him, with this insulting message, 'That he 'neither wanted their assistance, nor Philip as 'an heir; that he had troops sufficient to de-'fend his territory, and a son to succeed him.' Philip, incensed at his duplicity, proclaimed a resolution to take immediate vengeance; raised the siege of Byzantium; and marched his troops into Scythia. In a general battle, he defeated the Barbarians by the masterly disposition of his army, notwithstanding their superior numbers. All the fruits of this victory, were long trains of captive women and children, with vast herds of cattle, which had moved with the army of the Getæ, and constituted the wealth of a people, who, content with daily food, reckoned freedom from other riches among the conveniences of life; a proportion of arms and war-chariots, only valuable as trophies; and twenty thousand mares, kept for breeding war-horses, which Philip proposed to transport to his stud at Pella. This spoil, altogether, rather encumbered than enriched the victors.

To Philip, on his way to Scythia, had been

granted an unconditional passage through the country of the Triballi, who then displayed every appearance of submission. These people, however, in order to extort a share of the booty, with which Philip was returning,—having seized all the defiles, opposed his march in a glen near the Mœsian mountains, where his immense equipage and baggage embarrassed his movements. This unexpected attack threw the Macedonian army into confusion. Some Greek mercenaries made a similar demand with the Triballi, and flew to arms to enforce it: this produced a sharp conflict between the mercenaries and the native Macedonians. The king rushed to the spot where the tumultuous carnage was most violent, and for a long time fought with prevailing bravery. At length his horse sunk under him, wounded; and the same weapon which disabled the beast, pierced the thigh of the rider, who now lay senseless on the ground, surrounded by ferocious enemies. The young prince Alexander flew with his attendants to the rescue of his father. He himself covered him with his shield; the enemy was repulsed, and the king conveyed in safety from the tumult. The Triballi now fled and dispersed: but, during the disorder of the Macedonians, they had carried off the greatest part of the booty.

Olymp. cx. 1. *A. C.* 340. *Alex. ætat.* 17.

Philip's wound left a permanent lameness;

which he at first endured with great impatience. Once, when a peevish expression escaped him, Alexander calmed him by an answer, since deservedly celebrated: "How can you, Sir, "regret an accident which, at every step you "take, reminds us of your valour?"

At this stage of his career, Philip had received a variety of wounds, and had encountered dangers in the field sufficient to repress an ordinary courage; and his acquisitions of power and fame might have satisfied his ambition, could such a spirit have borne repose. He had triumphed over Pausanias* and Argæus, two active competitors for his throne, and thus secured its peaceable possession. Macedonia, when he undertook the government, was pressed, and in great part overrun, by four formidable enemies; the Pæonians, the Thracians, the Illyrians, and the Athenians; these his arms and policy had vanquished, converted into allies and tributaries, or neutralized. The calamities of the previous reign had drained the country of gold; and at one time Philip reckoned a solitary cup of that metal so great a treasure, that, for safe custody, when he retired to rest, it was placed on his pillow: this public penury he had transmuted into opulence: between the mountains of Thrace and the coast,

* For these additions to the sketch of Freinshemius, the Life of Philip, by Leland, is the authority.

near the isle of Thasus, stood the new city, Crenidæ, built by the Thassians: they had scarcely occupied it before he expelled their colony, planted another of Macedonians, and named the city, after himself, Philippi; in the territory belonging to it were gold mines, from which he derived an annual revenue of one thousand talents. £225,000. The important city of Amphipolis he had reunited to Macedonia. His KINGDOM, including Thessaly, was NOW bounded by the lake Lycnitis, on the north-west; whence it extended on the opposite point to the Thracian sea; the Pindus chain of mountains formed its south-western frontier; the angular curve of those mountains left the Thessalian part of his territory a narrow limit, on the south, touching Locris and Phocis; and its eastern boundary was the Ægean sea. The *Chalcidian* territories Philip had acquired rather by bribes than force of arms. He had reduced *Olynthus* and its dependencies, by influencing the banishment of Apollonides, an upright and able general, and by corrupting the leaders, Euthycrates and Lasthenes, who betrayed the city. The *Thessalians* had lost their freedom by calling in Philip to support it; he had divided the country into four districts, and appointed the governors: their cavalry, the best in Greece, were compelled to attend him in his wars; the direction of their revenue he

assumed; their ports and shipping were, by treaty, at his disposal; he intruded Macedonian garrisons into Magnesia and Pagasæ; and by intriguing with Eudicus and Simo, occupied the fortress of Larissa; two other corrupt leaders in Thessaly, Agathocles and Thrasideus, whom he flattered with small commands, connived at his holding Pheræ and Echinus; lastly, he had publicly purchased the town of Antron, which commanded the Euripus of Chalcis. Pursuing, in *Thrace*, a course of alternate conquest and encroachment, after appropriating Philippi, he took the city of Methone, situate on the Thermaic bay, forty stadia from Pydna; succeeded in reducing Pydna and Potidæa, another maritime city; was master of the promontories Pallene and Ampelus; and occupied the cities of Ganos Ergiske: ceasing to dissemble with his ally Cersobletes, he deposed him, confined him to the Sacred Mount, and took his son as an hostage: the Macedonian king, liberal of protection, had erected forts in the dominions of Cithelas, another petty sovereign of Thrace, and imposed a tribute on the people amounting to a tenth of the revenue. Under similar pretensions, he had amused, and now governed, the inhabitants of *Cardia* in the Chersonesus. He reduced Illyria; made successful incursions into Dardania; and had disposed of the crown of Epirus.

As a step to sovereignty over GREECE, he had attained the important object of being admitted a MEMBER OF THE HELLENIC BODY, entitled to send representatives to the council of the Amphictyons. *Sparta* and *Athens* were the powers most able to oppose his enterprises: but he had weakened and embarrassed both. His profession of readiness to succour the oppressed, had drawn from the *Argives* and *Messenians* a request, that he would interpose for them against Sparta: assert their rights to govern themselves as distinct states; and settle the boundaries between them. He landed a force in Laconia; the Peloponnesians crowded to his standard; this cooperation enabled him to reduce the fortress of Trinasus, and to dictate to Lacedæmon a treaty, marking a boundary favourable to Argos, and recognising the separate sovereignty of Messenia. He embraced *Sicyonia* in the league; placing at the head of the confederate cities, men devoted to him. By a similar process, *Megara*, after being alternately subject to the Spartans and Athenians, now possessed nominal independence, under the auspices of Philip. The *Achæans* and *Ætolians* made him arbiter in a dispute respecting the city of Naupactus; which deposit he retained. Sapping further the outworks of Sparta, he had loosened, and nearly destroyed the dependence of *Arcadia* upon the principal state. Still he feared directly

to assail Sparta, having experienced that her public men were uncorrupt. Luxurious *Corinth* felt not in her extremities only, but in her bosom, the effects of his system: Philip reduced the city of Leucas, a colony from the Isthmus; while, by his creature Demaratus, and other agents in Corinth, he governed the parent state. Visiting this city, as a spectator at the public games, by the people who regarded his presence as an insolent act, he was received with demonstrations of disgust; an affront which he had the policy to overlook at the moment, though he wanted the magnanimity to pardon it, for, at the destruction of Phocis, he involved Corinth in a deprivation of privileges, and by transferring them to himself increased his own ascendency. In the SACRED WAR—as the contest for the possession of the temple at Delphi was termed,—so stubbornly maintained between the *Phocians* and their allies against the *Locrians* and their allies,—Philip long concealed his intentions to interfere, satisfied to cherish the general indignation against the Phocians. When the object of his military preparations could not be disguised, he amused the Athenians, (to whom Phocis was a barrier,) by leading them to hope, that he would merely punish the sacrilegious individuals, without subverting the Phocian state; while by artful representations, he effected in the minds

of the Phocians themselves, a distrust of Lacedæmon their public-spirited and powerful ally *. Under the pretence of supporting the cause of Apollo, Philip's army now advanced: Phaleucus, who, with eight thousand Phocians, was charged to defend the pass at Thermopylæ, was allured to a negociation; and the indecision of this general surrendered, without a struggle, the key of Greece, merely stipulating for the advantage of retiring unmolested †. The trembling inhabitants, destitute of defence, signed a treaty, implicitly submitting the punishment of the violators of the temple to the decision of the Macedonian invader, with a vague reservation that the state should be spared. Philip convened the Amphictyonic council to determine the fate of Phocis; the deputies of the Thessalians, Locrians, and Bœotians, all devoted to him, only were present. Under their decree, or rather under the latitude of advantages which the prostrate and desperate condition of the Phocians gave to their vindictive enemies, twenty walled cities, the ornament and boast of Phocis, were dismantled, and reduced to hamlets of sixty houses each; of the wretched inhabitants—who saw their public edifices, their

* Æschin. de fal leg. sect. 41. Dem. de fal. leg. sect. 18.

† Dem. Phil. ii. sect. 4. De pace, sect. 5. Lucchesini in Phil. 2. Diod. Sic. lib. xvi. 59.

temples, and the tombs of their ancestors destroyed—the bulk were driven into slavery. The transfer to Philip of their privilege to send representatives to the council of the Amphictyons, greatly increased his influence over Greece: from the Corinthians, as allies of Phocis, at the same time were torn the privileges of presiding at the Pythian games, and of superintending the oracle; which were to be thenceforth exercised by Philip, by the Bœotians, and by the Thessalians conjointly *. Philip delivered the custody of Thermopylæ to the Thessalians, and garrisoned Nicæa with Macedonians, by which he in effect commanded those important streits †; thus he was enabled to intimidate *Thebes* towards an alliance with him, and into a dereliction of the alliance of Athens. Further, by the possession of Thermopylæ, he had made an opening for a DIRECT incursion into *Athens* at the moment which he might select. His CIRCUITOUS hostilities against Attica, were not confined to his proceedings in Olynthus, or in the Chersonesus, or to the other encroachments already related: he had taken the islands of Lemnos and Imbros ‡, and the

* Dem. de fal. leg. sect. 21. Dem. de Corona, sect. 12; et Phil. iii. sect. 8. Diod. Sic. lib. xvi. 60. Pausan. in Phoc.

† Dem. Phil. iii. sect. 3, 8. Dem. Orat. in Lit. sect. 2.

‡ Leland's Philip. iii. 1.

island of Halonesus*; he had subjected all the tract between the rivers Nessus and Hebrus, whence pursuing his encroachments, he might soon grasp the cities on the Propontis†: from the Athenian dependency of Eubœa, indeed, his forces, with his creatures Hipparchus, Clitarchus, Philistides, and Automedon, had been expelled by the policy of Demosthenes, seconded by the military skill of Phocion‡: but while Philip had footing there, he had demolished the fortifications of Porthmus, and arranged measures for invading the island at a future time‖. Even as a naval power, Macedonia had begun successfully to rival Athens; Philip's fleet had surprised several transports of the Athenians; Amyntas, his vigilant admiral, by successful enterprizes, disconcerted their naval expeditions; making a bold descent on the coast of Attica, he had insulted the Athenians by capturing the sacred galley at Marathon; he had debarked forces at Salamis, and other islands under the protection of their state, whence he had carried away numerous prisoners; and he had defeated their fleet off Byzantium§. But the most lamentable symptom of debility in Athens, was

* Epist. Phal. † Dem. Phil. iii. 4. Oliv. lib. xii. p. 196.
‡ Diod. Sic. lib. xvi. 74. ‖ Dem. Phil. iii. 12—14.
§ Leland's Philip iii. 1. Dem. de Corona, 23. Hesychius de situ Orb.

the profligacy of the public men: her orators, by whom proceedings relative to the state were materially influenced, were, the major part, in the pay of Philip; and Athenian ambassadors at the court of Pella, had been found flagitious enough to expose to the intriguing Macedonian the weak parts of their country

At length, the people of Attica, alarmed by the encroachments of Philip, were, by the eloquence of Demosthenes, confirmed in the resolution to oppose his progress; the Athenian community now perceived, that the most solemn pacific engagements would not prevent him from acting as an enemy in the calm of peace, if, by a sudden stroke, he could seize an advantage; and their great orator impressed on them the danger of inactivity, while the bold and politic Macedonian was pursuing his plans. On the other hand, Philip saw it necessary no longer to dissemble his resentment against the Athenians, who had caused his late miscarriage at Byzantium, by exciting the citizens of Chios and Rhodes to pour succours into the place, and by sending thither, on their own part, a fleet of an hundred and twenty sail, with land-forces under Chares, a commander who was afterwards superseded by Phocion †. Philip, while the

Dem. de fal. leg. sect. 42. De Corona, sect. 48, 49.

† Plut. in vit. Phocion.

wound which he had received in the country of the Triballi was under cure, had made formidable preparations for war, incessantly but covertly; intending to fall upon the Athenians when their suspicions should be lulled, and their means of defence low. For keeping on foot a large army, his constant pretext had been, that it was a mere measure of vigilance against the Illyrians; and that fierce people, impatient of subjection, had, in truth, attempted to break the yoke which he had imposed.

Alexander had, meanwhile, been detached against these Barbarians, whom he soon defeated and dispersed. This success, and his judicious measures to prevent them from again revolting, together with a recollection of his previous achievements, inspired his countrymen with high expectations from his fortune and ability: nor did he materially differ from them in their estimate of the "great young prince," for he began to conceive himself competent to the conduct of a campaign, or the government of a province, unassisted by his father's direction. These transactions happened during the extraordinary military preparations in Macedon, which proceeded unremittingly for two years.

The politic Philip also employed the war upon the Amphissæans, in which he professed to interfere as the vindicator of the Amphictyons

and Apollo, as a mask for assembling an army, more, in a vast disproportion, than adequate to that object. He had been appointed general of the Greeks by a decree of the Amphictyons, to chastise the insolence of a part of the Locrians called Ozolæ, inhabitants of Amphissa, who, in contempt of the authority of the Amphictyonic council, continued to occupy the territory of Cyrrha, a tract of land dedicated to Apollo. The Amphissæans, at first, to gain time, dissembled submission, and entered into a treaty with Cottyphus, the general sent with the concurrence of Philip against them: but they afterwards refused to execute the treaty; and, in a skirmish, wounded Cottyphus, and destroyed or dispersed his attendants *.

Now, Philip had completed his preparations, and the recent conduct of the Amphissæans furnished him with a pretext for transporting his army into Greece. He had induced the Athenians to remove their fleet from a station where it would have obstructed the descent of his armament, by contriving that they should intercept letters from himself to Antipater, signifying that commotions in Thrace required his presence there †. While the people of Attica reposed on his being engaged in a distant expedi-

* Æschin. in Ctes. † Polyæn. lib. iv. cap. 2. stratag. 8.

tion, he, in the spring of the year, debarked unmolested near Amphissa.

Philip was at that time in alliance with the Athenians; but this they viewed as a slender security, if the king could derive any advantage from perfidy*. A body of ten thousand mercenaries, which they had hired to assist the Amphissæans, were, in the mean time, defeated †. The Athenian people perceiving that the Macedonian army, under pretence of completing the vengeance of the god, was ready to enter Attica with fire and sword, resolved to send an embassy to Philip to demand a truce, though at this time no declaration of war had proceeded from either party. The ambassadors were commissioned to exhort him, 'To preserve that harmony, and to adhere to those engagements, which had hitherto subsisted between them, or at least to refrain from hostility till the spring was advanced to the month Thargelion. In the mean time, the Athenians would deliberate on measures that might prevent or accommodate apprehended differences.'

The inhabitants of menaced Attica sent another embassy to Thebes; proposing, by a vivid picture of the common danger, to engage that state to coöperate in asserting the independence

* Dem. in Ctesiphon. 52. † Ibid. Dem. de Corona.

of Greece. But Philip preserved his connection with the Thebans, through the mediation of his partizans; the chief of whom, Timolaus, Theogiton, and Anemætas, had great influence over their countrymen. Having already overcome the Locrians and their confederates at Amphissa; and confident of reaching his ultimate object, should he have to contend with the Athenians only, he transported his army, by forced marches, into Phocis. He surprized Elatea, a station commanding equally the borders of Thebes and Attica, which he fortified and garrisoned, as though the vicinity were marked out to be the seat of war. The news that Philip had taken possession of Elatea first arrived at Athens late in the evening; the whole city was filled with consternation, which was so long in subsiding, that when the people had assembled early the next morning, and the cryer had invited any person to offer his sentiments as to the measures which might conduce to the publick safety, no individual stood up to speak. At length Demosthenes, to whom all eyes were turned, arose: he concluded a short oration, altogether suited to the crisis, by proposing, 'That 'a fleet of two hundred vessels should be equip-'ped to cruise in the streits of Thermopylæ; 'that the cavalry and infantry should march 'under their respective generals to Eleusis; and

'that ambassadors should be sent to the states 'of Greece, particularly to the Thebans, whose 'confines Philip more immediately threaten-'ed.' Under a decree adopting this proposition, Chares and Lysicles were appointed to command the forces, and Demosthenes was named at the head of the embassy to Thebes.

Philip, whose vigilance these proceedings could not elude, was convinced that he should be involved in a difficult war, should the two states confederate; for the Athenians were still opulent and powerful; nor were the numbers, and skill, and courage, of the Thebans to be lightly estimated; Fame still spoke of the battle of Leuctra, which had wrested the sovereignty of Greece from the Lacedæmonians. In order to foil the Athenian politics, and to confirm his Grecian allies, Philip sent to Thebes, as his ambassadors, Amyntas and Clearchus, natives of Macedon, accompanied by Python, the celebrated orator of Byzantium. The Thessalians deputed Daochus and Thrasidæus, two creatures devoted to the court of Pella. Separate ministers went thither also on the part of the Ætolians, the Dolopes, the Ænians, and Phthiotes*.

Now, at Thebes, the popular assembly was convened. The representatives of Philip had the

* Plut. in Dem.

distinction of first addressing it; and Python, in the name of this prince and his allies, delivered this artful harangue:

CHAP. VI.

The Speech of Python.

" IF you were not in alliance with Philip,—if " the Athenian army now possessed Elatea, " while the king remained inactive in Mace- " donia,—yet, even then, I can have no doubt " that you would be desirous of his friendship " and alliance. For, indeed, who would not " prefer the coöperation of a brave and power- " ful king whose exploits are innumerable, to " connection with a republic whose reputation " and illusive splendour are superior to its " strength? But, now, since that prince, who " has victorious troops stationed in what may " be considered the very gates of your city, is " your friend and protector;—and since you " have, from the earliest times up to this pe- " riod, received multiplied affronts and injuries " from the Athenians, the last of which are too " recent to require to be named,—it would be " an insolent attempt to persuade you, by an " alliance with them, to contemn and forfeit

" the friendship of so illustrious a king. But
" the people of Attica, who excel every nation
" in pride and vanity, conceive, that they alone
" are intelligent and prudent, and that all the
" rest of mankind, but especially the Bœotians,
" (for it is chiefly YOU that they insult,) are
" stupid, and impolitic, and incapable of dis-
" tinguishing what is profitable or honest.
" Thus they confidently expect to allure you
" into a conduct into which you can never
" plunge without sinking really into the fatuity
" imputed to you by malignant rivals; they
" expect you to choose friends and enemies
" according to the dictates of their caprices, in
" opposition to your own benefit, relying on a
" flourishing verbiage, in which consists all
" their strength. But no man in his senses
" ever preferred words to actions—especially in
" war, wherein the hands are serviceable, but
" the exercise of the tongue is impertinent.
" Whatever reliance they may place on their
" eloquence, the fortune and virtue of Philip
" must always continue superior: His native
" forces, brave, disciplined, experienced; the
" auxiliaries who cordially and ably second him,
" are both assured of conquest guided by his
" military talents. Plainly speaking, it is hard
" to say, whether the folly or the impudence of
" their demands be greatest. *Thebans!* say

" they, *expose your heads to the thunder that*
" *hovers over Athens; and at the hazard of ruin*
" *that will else never reach you, make war upon a*
" *king who is your friend and ally, that we may*
" *continue in safety. Stake your lands, your*
" *lives, on a desperate chance, to prevent Philip*
" *from retaliating injuries from the Athenians!!!*
" Are these the demands of men who are in
" their senses, or who think that the parties
" addressed retain the use of theirs? Those
" people who, but very lately, seized every oc-
" casion to oppress you; who carried reproach-
" es, outrages, and hostilities, against you, to
" the utmost limits of their power; founding
" on your dangers and misfortunes their ascend-
" ancy and happiness; those same people have
" the effrontery to propose to you to perish
" with them, rather than to be victorious with
" Philip.

" This great prince, who was once in the
" bosom of Thebes as your guest and foster-
" child, who was educated under your celebra-
" ted leader, Epaminondas; this prince, whose
" life and morals are fair as white-robed Can-
" dour, has from his infancy imbibed an affec-
" tion for your city, and the economy and
" manners of its inhabitants. Philip revenged
" the injuries done to you and to Apollo in the
" Phocian war, when the Athenians, out of

" hatred to you, sent succours to a native of
" your country who had committed both rebel-
" lion and sacrilege. The king, invited a second
" time, by the unanimous decree of the Am-
" phictyons, to act as their general, revenged
" the contempt of the same deity upon the
" Locrians. He has marched hither to consult
" your interests, nor proposes to depart till he
" has delivered you from the fear of that rival
" city which has always been your enemy. If
" you are inclined to promote this design by
" your common councils and forces, his plan
" will allot you a share in the booty, rather
" than a share in the war. Should you prefer
" remaining neuter, he solicits only a passage;
" unassisted, he is able to revenge all your
" common injuries: even in that case you shall
" reap equal fruits of victory. The flocks,
" herds, and slaves, won from the enemy, will,
" by a natural division, mostly be assigned to
" you, as immediate neighbours of the Athe-
" nians: thus you will be compensated for the
" loss which you sustained in the Phocian war.
" Waving every influence but that of reason, I
" leave you to decide, whether this will not be
" more to your advantage, than to have your
" fields wasted, your towns stormed, set on fire,
" dilapidated, and plundered, and all your con-
" cerns involved in that irreparable state of de-

" rangement and ruin which will gratify the
" national jealousy of the Athenians.

" Nor harbour unworthy apprehensions of
" Philip; unjustly to suspect sincerity, is often
" to convert it into rage; and the purest good-
" will, slighted, aspersed, or attacked, insensi-
" bly takes the appearance, if not the feelings,
" of bitter revenge. I do not say this, as up-
" braiding you with ingratitude, of which I
" trust you will betray no symptoms; nor to
" influence your decisions by terror, a stimulus
" of which I am confident your manly natures
" are unsusceptible,—but I place in review
" Philip's good offices towards you, and yours
" towards him, merely to convince you, that
" those alliances only are firm and perpetual,
" which it is the interest of both parties to ob-
" serve. If he, by undisputed services, has
" merited more from you, than you have yet
" had an opportunity to return, by benefiting
" him; it will be virtuous in you to display a
" correspondent goodness of disposition, and
" to use every effort to rival him in this re-
" spect. In his estimation, the most gratify-
" ing recompense for all his labours, is his
" having contributed to the protection of
" Greece; for the safety and honour of which,
" he has been engaged in unremitting hostili-
" ties with the Barbarians. Would to the gods

" the madness of the Athenians had permitted
" him to obey the genuine impulses of his
" mind. You would have heard, by this time,
" that his arms, which he is now constrained to
" employ in Greece to repress the disturbances
" of the seditious and ill-designing, were tri-
" umphant in Asia. He might certainly have
" been on friendly terms with the Athenians, if
" he had not thought it degrading to himself,
" and holding a bad example to others, to be-
" come tributary to this Demosthenes, and
" some other turbulent speakers, who drive the
" ignorant multitude whither they please, by
" the breath of their orations, as the winds
" drive the waves of the sea. Doubtless had
" they any sense of honesty, or value for ho-
" nour, they would do their duty without being
" bribed to it. But they who are accustomed
" to vend their reputation, make no distinction
" between what is beneficial and what is perni-
" cious, between justice and injustice, provided
" they can extract as much advantage from
" wickedness as from integrity; their moving
" principle is interest, not the love of virtue or
" their country, nor respect for gods or men.
" In vain will you desire any thing from those
" men, that shall prove substantially good or
" reputable; they who have the interest of
" their country so lightly at heart, can never

" feel a sincere concern for your interests; they
" will involve you in a repetition of the calami-
" ties from which you have been so lately ex-
" tricated by the fidelity and courage of the
" Macedonians. Or, rather, they would involve
" you in calamities much weightier; as Philip
" would, as an enemy, be more formidable to
" you than Philomelus or Onomarchus was.

" Consider, too, that where a military com-
" mand is holden on the precarious tenure of
" popularity, the schemes of an able general are
" as liable to be disconcerted by his own coun-
" trymen, as by the enemy. Whereas no one
" dares to oppose or disobey a king; his will is
" the rule by which his people are governed:
" and of what importance in war a prompt and
" implicit execution of orders is, you all know.
" Nor is that advantage of the Macedonians
" dependent on the life or talents of one per-
" son: though fate should deprive us of Philip,
" we have an Alexander to rise up in his stead,
" who in the spring of youth has given such
" proofs of genius and courage, that we have
" firm grounds for expecting that he will equal
" the most renowned generals. On the con-
" trary, among the Athenians the power of
" making peace or war resides in all the people
" promiscuously; there, the most impudent
" pretender assumes it as the prerogative of

" him who is bold enough first to seize it. " There, government is managed rather by " starts of passion than by the impulses of wis- " dom communicated after counsel and delibe- " ration: men who design evil, persuade; and " the ignorant decree: war is undertaken with " more heat than it is pursued; and treaties are " broken with the same ease and levity with " which they are made.

" At this hour, the Athenians are engaged " by treaty to Philip: the inviolable sacred- " ness with which they keep it, appears in " their behaviour. Not satisfied with staining " their own characters with perfidy, they la- " bour to infect you with the contagion; but " your firmness, O Thebans! which has con- " tributed not less to your celebrity and great- " ness, than your talents and courage crowned " so often by victory have, leaves no room to " doubt that you will prefer the alliance of a " king, of whose friendship you have had re- " peated proofs, to hazardous connection with " a city, which, from envy of your glory, has " often been your open, constantly your secret " enemy; always more your enemy than she " has dared to avow, even in actual war.

" Will Hercules, the averter of evil, the na- " tive deity whom your city adores, the hero " who is venerated as the fellow-citizen of the

" ancient Thebans, suffer you to fight on the " side of injustice and impiety, against a king " who is his descendant, and who has been " the successful vindicator of the cause of " Apollo?

" As for the deputies of the other allies, " now surrounding me, you may learn from " themselves what value they set upon Philip's " friendship."

Python delivered this speech with extraordinary heat and violence, as if dictated by sincere conviction. The representatives of the other allies were next heard; applauding and echoing the sentiments of Python, they exhorted the Thebans, " To coöperate with the " great and pious prince, the protector of the " religion and liberty of Greece, rather than " with the Athenians, the disturbers of its " peace."

CHAP. VII.

The Speech of Demosthenes.

DEMOSTHENES arose. This statesman and patriot thus addressed the assembly:

" I was not ignorant that those mercena- " ries of Philip would spare neither their praises

" of him, nor their reproaches against us: for
" they who have dismissed the troublesome
" sense of shame, are not solicitous how far
" they outrage truth or propriety, to gain their
" point. But, O Thebans! if I correctly esti-
" mate your temper and principles, these emis-
" saries will find expectations by which they
" dishonour you, disappointed; and they will
" be the mortified messengers to Philip of a re-
" solution on your part, worthy of your virtue
" and of the discipline of the Greeks. In the
" meanwhile, let me prevail upon you fully to
" weigh, and to pursue to their consequences,
" the opposite propositions which may be sub-
" mitted to you. That your whole fortune de-
" pends upon this day's deliberation, I shall
" show by invincible arguments, and not by
" the magic of words, by which they pretend
" to fear that a reflecting assembly may be de-
" luded. They may lay aside apprehensions, by
" which they asperse *you* rather than *me;* for we
" who speak on the part of Athens, do not feel
" it necessary to endeavour to be more eloquent
" than they; which in us were a useless ambition.
" A bad cause, indeed, must owe every chance
" of success to the power of eloquence, which
" may so disguise impudent misrepresentations
" fluently uttered, that even the intelligent do
" not hear them with the disgust which false-

" hood ought to excite: but when a speaker
" can be secure of prevailing by unadorned
" truth, if he is judicious, he will not have re-
" course to a trifling and meretricious flourish
" of words.

" As to Philip, we have no immediate con-
" cern with his character; his relation to us
" ought to remain too distant to enable either
" the Athenian or Theban public to pronounce
" whether he resembles the picture which his
" encomiasts have drawn; without too inti-
" mate an examination, let us admit that he is
" handsome, eloquent, and convivial; for some
" persons have praised him even for these qua-
" lities, and thus confessed his want of title to
" real glory.

" But I feel astonishment not to be suppres-
" sed, that his ambassador should deliberately re-
" proach us, the representatives of Athens, in your
" presence, with things, which if they are crimes
" or weaknesses, affect the Thebans with op-
" probrium as strongly as ourselves. They
" have expatiated on the inconveniencies of a
" popular form of government; of which both
" you and we are sensible of the imperfections;
" and yet we prefer this form of government to
" regal despotism. They have spoken to you
" in such a strain as if they intended to tickle
" the ears of a Macedonian assembly, or as if

" their instructions were to reconcile slaves to " degradation, or prisoners to restraint—not as " if they had been sent to a free city, respect- " fully to execute the office of ambassadors. " We knew, before, the irreconcileable hatred " which kings and their slaves have to free cities " and independent states; and they have acted " very foolishly, in reminding us of this: their " avowed hostilities against liberties which we " enjoy in common, Thebans! should make us " more vigilant to defend our laws and pri- " vileges.

" It should be the general wish and prayer, " above all things, that those who are called " to agitate or administer affairs in common- " wealths, were engaged in no other than this " glorious contention—*Who should propose mea-* " *sures most effectively promoting the public in-* " *terest; and who should execute with most fide-* " *lity and success, the plans which the delibera-* " *tive bodies had adopted.* Then none would " prefer his private advantage to the public " good; none would consult his individual re- " putation rather than the glory of the state; " none would receive bribes; and none would " betray his country to Philip, after the ex- " ample of these deputies. But, Thebans! per- " fect, unalloyed felicity, was never the lot of " any man or any state: he is the happiest,

" whose circumstances are freest from misfor-
" tunes. It is past dispute that Athens has
" had bad citizens; and such are now in her
" bosom; nor have you, Thebans! been with-
" out them at former times, nor are you at this
" time. If this were not so, Philip, so far
" from threatening our liberty, this day, from
" Elatea, would have to contend with us for
" the possession of Macedonia. However, we
" are not destitute of good citizens, and these
" are more numerous and more powerful than
" the bad. Do you want a proof of this? We
" are free: we are not Philip's slaves, as you,
" Python! shall be disappointed in making
" your Byzantines: but as for you, Daochus!
" and you, Thrasidæus! ye have sold your
" Thessalians to the king. In effect, Thebans!
" you behold Thessaly languishing at this mo-
" ment under servitude to Philip; and if I mis-
" take not, you deplore, as deeply as we, that
" they should have sunk under oppression. As
" to Byzantium, it owes no grateful return to
" Python, if it has not been reduced to the
" same level with Olynthus: its deliverance
" was effected by us. Philip, the pious pro-
" tector of Greece, venerable on account of his
" disinterestedness; in the paternal exercise of
" power so extensive as to excite general alarm,
" but for his moderation; suddenly resolved to

" subdue that Greek city, when, reposing on " the sufficient security of alliance with him, " it had no apprehension that its independence " would be attacked. Behold in what consist " the astonishing intelligence, the ennobling " qualities of this applauded ruler! With him, " cunning and duplicity are the essential foun- " dations of policy; perjury is a liberal art; " perfidy, a master virtue.

" If this be not the clue to the source of " our miscarriages and his elevation, we would " beseech him to inform us by what steps he " climbed to his formidable height. Let him " tell us, whether he has not surprized the con- " fiding Greeks by fraud? whether he has not " overcome his friends by stratagem, and his " allies by confederating against them? whe- " ther he has not bought victories of the Bar- " barians with gold, oftener than he has won " them with the sword? whether he ever hesi- " tated to plight his fidelity, or to violate it? " whether, if he could prevail on himself equi- " tably to fulfil an engagement, he would not " deceive the Thebans and Athenians, who " now begin to penetrate his character?

" To him these deputies give the title of " protector of Greece, and call us the disturb- " ers of it! But what absurdity or excess will " be avoided as shameful, by men who had ra-

" ther impute to us their own crimes, than " make a candid confession of their guilt? If " any one, I address myself to you, O deputies " from Philip's abused allies! had committed " treason, or had taken bribes, it would in you " be in character, and consistent with your in- " terest, to defend him by the shield of silence " from the punishment of the laws. By cla- " morous accusations against us, of which you " can bring no proof, you do but remind the as- " sembly of your own notorious corruption. If " you make us remember that you are Philip's " creatures unintentionally, where is your pru- " dence or common sense? If, in your previous " deliberations, you have decided that each one " of you shall make the experiment, whether " his colleagues can stand without confusion, " and hear the public mention of bribes and " treason, what have you done with the faculty " of shame?

" It is a sufficient vindication of my inno- " cence, and of theirs who are embarked in the " same cause, that you yourselves admit that " we have received nothing from Philip; for " had we shown a willingness to be gained by " presents, we should not have left his court " empty-handed, if he is the liberal king which " you pretend him to be. Would a politic in- " triguer, who thought it worth his while to

" corrupt you, forbear to engage us by bribes,
" if it were practicable?

" But you have just now admonished the
" Thebans not to follow the counsel of those
" who have not at heart the interests of their
" country. From this moment, I cease to op-
" pose them, Thebans! if they really urge that
" advice from principle. In that single senti-
" ment I can join them; and I exhort and en-
" treat you, with the earnestness of a sincere
" friend to the liberties of Greece, I conjure
" you, as you value the independence of Thebes,
" to embrace that proposition. If you act upon
" it, you will not put it in the power of the ene-
" my to sell you in droves, like cattle; nor to
" make your houses your prisons; nor shall you,
" at home, and on your own estates, be reduced
" to a state of thraldom below the condition of
" the Pæonians and Triballi. For should the
" despotism of the Macedonians embrace you
" in the mildest manner, they would require
" you to confine yourselves to the management
" of flocks and slaves, as the highest employ-
" ment to which you ought to aspire; and they
" would force you, not as extorting a sacrifice,
" but as conferring a reward which might sa-
" tisfy captives, to abjure and abandon your
" wives, your children, your parents, your li-
" berty, your reputation, your faith, and, in

" fine, every thing that is sacred and venerable " among the Greeks. Incontestably, Thebans! " you lose all these for ever, unless you unite " with the Athenians in resisting the fraud and " violence of Philip.

" If you should imagine that you will be pro- " tected by the endeavours of others, without any " effort of your own, I fear that you will find your- " selves egregiously mistaken. If Philip should " accomplish the ruin of Attica, (an event " which I contemplate with horror, as a Greek,) " can you doubt that all Greece, and neces- " sarily your city, would be deprived of liber- " ty? Who, but men who had an inclination " to perish, would entrust their existence " to a prince destitute of faith? But if vic- " tory should declare for us, reflect on what " you ought to expect from a people, whom " you had deserted and abandoned, when both " their safety and their glory were at stake— " were that people any other than the generous " Athenians. Whatever course the Theban " state may decide on pursuing, we are deter- " mined to venture all in the great cause; for " the Athenians will never lose their liberty " but with their lives. Nor do we distrust our " strength, to which if you will join yours, we " shall, united, be superior to the enemy; at " the same time, opposition to him by either of

" us singly, will be attended with hazard;
" should we let this opportunity pass, the com-
" munication between us will be cut off, and
" each of us must submit without an effort, or
" fight separately against him, when all his
" means of subduing the Theban and our state
" will have augmented.

" The Athenians are not ignorant of the ex-
" tent of his power, which they foresaw while
" it was rising and increasing: we took up the
" cause of Greece; and had all the Greek states
" been unanimous in supporting that cause,
" such a just and natural confederacy might
" easily have set limits to his dominions. We
" waged war with him, a long time, not for
" Amphipolis or Halonesus, as many asserted,
" but for the safety and liberty of Greece; till,
" abandoned by all, and attacked by some mem-
" bers of the body which we were benefiting,
" we were forced to make a necessary rather
" than an honourable peace. But, now, the
" goddess Minerva, the guardian of our city,
" and the Pythian Apollo, the native god of
" our country, with all the adored circle of our
" national deities, have, I trust, loosed the ban-
" dage from the eyes of the Greeks, and raised
" the courage of all their worshippers to join in
" defending the liberty and independence of the

" whole Hellenic body, and the ancient privi-
" leges transmitted by our forefathers.

" Surely, Hercules could not hear without
" indignation, the impiety of the ambassadors,
" when they derived Philip's pedigree from
" that god. Will that celestial own, by his
" auspices, the contemner of all religions? Can
" a Greek acknowledge for his descendant, a
" Macedonian? Can a power who abhorred ty-
" ranny, who punished and extirpated it, own
" a tyrant? This made the actions of Hercules
" illustrious and memorable. Philip, on the
" contrary, exercises an unjust dominion over
" Greece; and has appointed domestic tyrants
" over several of its cities; such as Philistides
" over Oreum, Hipparchus over Eretria, and
" Taurosthenes over Chalcis. For this reason,
" the Eubœans, Achæans, Corinthians, Mega-
" rensians, Leucadians, and Corcyræans, have
" declared for us. Others wait the event, an
" indecision which has hitherto supported the
" power of Macedonia, which will fall rapidly
" of itself, after union and firmness among the
" Grecians have made it begin to decline. The
" Thessalians, by whom Philip is now supplied
" with cavalry, have frequently changed sides;
" and their present connection is forced. The
" Illyrians and other Barbarians on the distant

" frontiers of Macedonia, naturally fierce and " savage, and enraged at their new servitude, " will, on any disaster happening to Philip, by " declaring for us, relieve us considerably from " the pressure of the war.

" We entreat you and the other states to co- " öperate heartily with us in a glorious effort " to preserve the freedom of Greece; in the " meantime, cease to agitate, or even to recol- " lect, the dissentions which, from slight causes, " frequently arise between neighbouring states. " Let us hope that expiring enmities from old " quarrels, will be lost in mutual benevolence " and general joy, when success crowns our en- " deavours; or if we must give vent to unrea- " sonable passions, let it be at a time less dan- " gerous than the present, when it may operate " to the prejudice and dishonour of us both, " without destroying us entirely. Nay, if we " have ever contended as noble rivals, let us " now unite against a subtle and inveterate " enemy, who proposes to extinguish all emu- " lation between us, who shall be the freest or " the greatest, by reducing both of us to sla- " very.

" Let us not be confined to inaction by too " great an apprehension of the artifices of Phi- " lip: if we pay no credit to his promises, and " keep our hands undishonoured by his bribes,

" we cut the very sinews of his policy. Plain " sense will preserve us against a cunning " which has made its tricks gross by repeti- " tion; and if we have in our hearts the love " of liberty and of Greece, he will in vain as- " sail us with his pernicious gifts.

" As the discords of the Greeks have raised, " so their union will overthrow him. Besides, " as his temerity is excessive, which frequently " exposes him to complicated danger, the " chances of war may take him off In this " event, the aggression and encroachment which " has convulsed and despoiled Greece, will ex- " pire with him; for the false estimate of glory " which has made him a general disturber, has " been attended with evils, which must make " his subjects pant for tranquillity. Perhaps, " however, you feel distraction and terror on " account of Alexander, because the partizans " of Macedonia, through a contempt which " arises from an ignorance of your discernment, " have attempted to frighten you with the " name of a boy.

" On you, O Thebans! the eyes of Greece " are fixed. The inhabitants of this renowned " nation, at present free, at the same moment " equip armies for the field; send out, in the " great cause, fleets to sea; and implore, by " their representatives, the assistance of your

" gallant sons and experienced warriors against
" the violence and ambition of the Macedonian
" oppressor. They would have you see your
" danger and your interest; they exhort you
" to remember your duty; and, by me, they
" anxiously inquire, whether you will embrace
" the last occasion that may be presented,
" of acting consistently with your ancient
" glory *?"

CHAP. VIII.

The Thebans accept the alliance of the Athenians. The battle of Chæronea. Philip is elected general of the Greeks.

THE Macedonian partizans, confounded by Demosthenes, were unable to concert a reply; the power of his address was as visible in the sudden change which it effected in the Thebans. They who, a little before, had heard Philip's ambassadors with attention, and with applauding expressions of assent; now resolved to unite with Athens,—and they declared, that they should regard Philip as an enemy, unless he immediately withdrew from their frontiers and from those of their allies. A decree to this

* Dem. de Corona. Dem. pro. Ctes. sect. 43.

effect was executed in form. "Arms and honour"—"Thebes and Athens"—"Greece and "liberty!"—echoed through the assembly*.

Afterwards, however, the fluctuating temper of a popular government occasioned an embarrassing proposition by the magistrates of Thebes in favour of pacific measures; while strongly recommending these to the Athenians, they countermanded the march of their own forces: this obliged Demosthenes to appear once more in their assembly. He enforced his former arguments, and by additional motives, animated the leaders and the people. "If," said he, "the Thebans are still undetermined, insensi-"ble of the common danger, and uninfluenced "by patriotic affection to Greece,—there is at "least one people that remember the principles "and actions of their ancestors. The unas-"sisted Athenians, though deserted by their "countrymen, cannot abandon the sacred cause "of liberty; if left to support the contest "by themselves, they must at least demand a "free passage through the Theban territory, "that by themselves they may march against "the enemy of Greece, and gloriously fall in "its defence†."

This appeal occasioned the deliberations of

* Theopomp. in Plut. vit. Dem. Dem. pro. Ctes. sect. 63.

† Æschin. in Ctes. sect. 47.

the Thebans to conclude in a resolution for war, which nothing could afterwards shake. They expelled from the city all that were known to be in the Macedonian interest; while their own forces were encamped without the walls, they received into their houses, and lodged with their families, the Athenian troops, who repaid, by regularity of conduct, this extraordinary confidence. Deserving of particular mention, is one trait, in the Athenian conduct, moulded by the counsels of Demosthenes, which seems equally to belong to greatness of mind and good policy. Though two-thirds of the expense of the united land-forces, and the whole charge of the maritime preparations, were borne by the Athenians, they freely permitted the Theban state to hold the first rank, and to be considered as the leading member of the confederacy *.

Philip was not so disconcerted by this cordial union between Thebes and Attica, as to abandon his enterprize, though the event were rendered precarious.

The allied Greeks now boldly moved to meet the enemy, and encamped within two days' march of the Macedonian army. The season was unfavourable for grand operations: in two

* Dem. pro Ctes. sect. 63.

detached actions, parties of the Macedonians were driven back to their camp. Philip, relying on his superior talents over those of the allied generals to conduct a general engagement, decamped and led his army to the plain of Chæronea. He took up a position, in view of a temple dedicated to Hercules, the author of his race, with the small river Thermodon, which fell into the Cephisus, in his front; a spot which some ancient oracles pointed out as the scene of some great calamity to Greece*. His army was now formed of thirty-two thousand men, well disciplined and long inured to the toils and dangers of war: but this army was composed of different nations and countries. The army of the confederates did not amount to thirty thousand complete; of which Athenians and Thebans constituted the greatest part; the rest were Corinthians and Peloponnesians; all animated by the same motives, and resolved to conquer or die in defence of liberty: unhappily the command of this illustrious body was entrusted to men unworthy of so important a charge; elevated to the station, not because they possessed experience and reputation, but because they could avail themselves of faction and secretly direct intrigue. The Thebans were

* Plut. in vit. Dem.

commanded by Theagines, a man of but moderate abilities in war, and suspected of corruption; the Athenians were led by their two generals Lysicles and Chares, according to the historians, or Stratocles according to the orators*.

In the morning of the day which was to decide for ever the liberty and empire of Greece; both armies, before the rising of the sun, were ranged in order of battle. In the army of the confederates, the Thebans had the post of honour on the right wing, with that famous body in front, called the SACRED BAND: the centre was formed of the Corinthians and Peloponnesians: the left wing was composed of the Athenians. The left of Philip's army consisted of a chosen body of noble Macedonians, supported by the famous cavalry of Thessaly; this wing was commanded by Alexander, then but nineteen years old; but his father, to curb his ardour and to direct his valour, surrounded him with experienced officers. In the centre were placed those Greeks whom coercion had united with Philip, on whose courage and attachment he had not complete dependence: the king himself commanded on the right wing, where his renowned phalanx stood to repel the

* Diod. Sic. lib. xvi. sect. 86. Dinarch. in Dem. Plut. in Pelop. Strabo, lib. ix. p. 414.

impetuosity with which the Athenians were known to assail *.

The charge began, on each side, with all the courage and violence which ambition, revenge, the pursuit of glory, and attachment to liberty, could excite. Alexander, at the head of the Macedonian nobles, with great ardour and decision fell on the sacred band of Thebes, who sustained the attack with a bravery and vigor worthy the fame of that institution †. The gallant Theban youths, too far behind whom their countrymen stood to give them close and immediate support, bore up, during an unparalleled interval, against the enemy, till, overpowered by superior numbers, they sunk down on that point of the field where they had been originally stationed, each by the side of his immediate friend, forming a bulwark of bodies, which for a moment checked a tide of assault flowing in impetuously. But the young prince and his forces, animated to enthusiastic courage by success, proceeded over the heaps of slain, and furiously attacked the main body of the Thebans, which resisted with determined valour: the contest was, for some time, supported with mutual tenacity ‡.

* Oliv. lib. xv. p. 368. Diod. Sic. ut supra.

† Plut. in Alex. ‡ Plut. in Pelop.

The Athenians, posted on the right wing, fought during the same time with a spirit and intrepidity worthy of their character and cause. The bravery exerted on each side kept the result suspended—at length, the centre of Philip's army, and even the left wing, except the phalanx, yielded before the impetuous attack of the Athenians, and fled with some precipitation. It had been well for Greece, if the ability of the Athenian generals had equalled the spirit of their soldiers: but the champions of liberty were conducted by the creatures of intrigue and cabal. Elated by the present advantage, the presumptuous Lysicles exclaimed, "Come "on, my gallant countrymen! the victory is "ours; let us pursue these cowards, and drive "them to Macedon!" Thus, instead of seizing the opportunity of attacking the phalanx in flank, a manœuvre by which, as it remained unsupported, it must have been broken; the Athenians pursued the flying enemy with a precipitation which threw them into disorder. Philip perceived this fatal error with the promptness of an accomplished general; and coolly observed to the officers round him, that "the "Athenians knew not how to conquer." He directed his phalanx, by a sudden evolution, to gain an adjacent eminence. Marching down hence in a firm order, they fell collectedly on

the Athenians, now confident of success, and blind to their danger. The shock was irresistible: the Attic forces were at once overwhelmed: many were pierced by the active weapons of the enemy, many were trodden down: the rest escaped from wounds and slaughter by a flight urged with disgraceful impatience, bearing down, and hurrying away with them, those troops which had been stationed for their support*.

While Philip was recovering from a severe repulse and rising to victory, Alexander continued the conflict on the other wing, and at length broke the Thebans, in spite of all their acts of valour: these, now flying from the field, were pursued with carnage. The centre of the confederates, exposed by the defeat and dispersion of both flanks, was thus totally abandoned to the fury of a victorious enemy. But slaughter and rout had proceeded far enough to decide the battle: more than one thousand Athenians lay dead on the field, and two thousand had been made prisoners: the loss of the Thebans was not inferior. Philip therefore concluded his important victory by an act flowing apparently from clemency, but dictated by policy and subservient to ambition; he gave orders

* Polyæn. lib. iv. cap. 2.

that the Greeks should be spared, expecting soon to be the leader of that confederacy of states, which he had subdued*.

The time of the battle seems to have been an entire day. In the evening, Philip received the congratulations of his officers; to whom, with the ambassadors of his allies, he gave a magnificent entertainment. Some of the most eminent Athenian prisoners, and the individuals deputed to demand the slain, were politely invited to the feast, which was continued with decent and corrected joy till the Athenian deputies retired. Now Philip and his Macedonians gave a freer course to gaiety and festivity. They sat till the approach of day, when the king and his companions proceeded to the field of battle, crowned with garlands, and inflamed with wine. Coming first to the quarter where the Thebans had fought, they beheld the bodies of the three hundred who had been united in their lives by sacred friendship; united also in their deaths, they lay in ranks unbending and unbroken, corresponding to their original order in battle. The affecting sight subdued their conquerors; Philip hung over them with astonishment, veneration, and pity. Melted into tears, and raising his hands with passionate

* Leland's Philip, book v. 2. p. 415, edit. 1775.

energy, he pronounced a solemn curse on those who could be base enough to suspect their friendship of any thing unworthy *.

The scene where the Athenians had contended, struck the king with vivid impressions of his late danger, the happiness of his escape, the importance of his success. He forgot his dignity; bounded from the earth in ridiculous triumph; and began to chant the declaration of war which Demosthenes had drawn up. His courtiers not daring to recal him to himself, he was in danger of being permitted to forget the king, and to expose Philip, till the fit had subsided: but Demades, the Athenian orator, his prisoner and guest, who had not acquired the habits of slavery, could not restrain his indignation: "Sir," said he, "you are "acting the part of Thersites, when fortune "had enabled you to appear in that of Aga-"memnon." If there was courage in this pointed reproof, there was address in its flattering allusion to the practicability of Philip's appearing at the head of the Greeks, like that ancient king. Philip, awakened from his extravagance, blushing, tore the chaplet of flowers from his brows, and threw it on the ground: warmly professing friendship and esteem for

* Leland's Philip, book v. 2. p. 418, 419, edit. 1775.

Demades, he pronounced him free. After the king had returned to his tent, he was the first to reclaim the company to dignity, by serious and judicious reflections upon the late events. His flatterers represented to him, that Athens, which had accumulated enemies and dangers round him, was now in his power, and that his honour and security required him to crush that turbulent state, and raze its walls to their foundations. Philip's reply flowed from juster views: "Have I encountered all these toils and dan-"gers for glory, and shall I destroy the theatre "of that glory? Ye gods, forbid it*!"

By moderation and condescension, he designed to gain the affections of the conquered Greeks. He gave the Athenians full permission to solemnize funeral rites in honour of their dead; and he dismissed the prisoners taken from them without ransom. The prisoners, thus released, boldly desired that he would be pleased to add the favour of restoring their baggage. "Indeed!" cried Philip, smiling, "these "men imagine that I have only conquered "them at some sport:" without further hesitation, he had the courtesy to comply with their request. The Thebans, indeed, were not treated

* Leland's Philip, book v. 2. p. 419—421, edit. 1775.

with the same lenity. With a general disposition to clemency, he imagined that his dignity required that he should show some sense of their ingratitude; for so their conduct was termed, and perhaps regarded, by Philip; and he considered, that an instance of severity would seasonably intimidate those of his confederates who might be tempted to revolt. The Thebans, therefore, he obliged to purchase both their dead and their prisoners: the principal leaders and partisans who had opposed his interest in Thebes, he punished with death, or banishment and confiscation; and three hundred exiles, who had suffered for adherence to his cause, were recalled and entrusted with public offices and the administration of government*.

The citizens of Athens, upon learning the event of the battle of Chæronea, in a paroxysm of disappointment and consternation, adopted a decree proposed by the orator Hyperides, by which they suspended or abrogated several of their institutions, in order to increase the number of their soldiers: they granted to strangers the rights of citizenship, restored infamous and degraded Athenians to rank and honour, and gave freedom to the slaves, on condition that the

* Leland's Philip, book v. 2. p. 421, 422, edit. 1775.

promiscuous crowd, thus adopted or reinstated, should take up arms*. The city was put into a state to sustain a siege; and the faithful and experienced Phocion was appointed commander of the forces, now the time for achievement was past†. Demosthenes, from whom the confidence of the Athenians was not withdrawn, expended, from his private fortune, a considerable sum on the fortifications, for which he was honoured with a crown of gold. Lysicles, to whose incapacity as a general the disastrous results of the war were attributed, was, at his return to the city, dragged before the public tribunal. Lycurgus, the orator, addressed the criminal in a strain of dignified accusation and overpowering reproach: "The enemy have "erected a trophy to the eternal dishonour of "Athens; and Greece, prostrate, expects the "abhorred yoke of slavery. You were the "commander on that fatal day: and you yet "live: you enjoy the sun's light: you appear "in our public places, the monument of the "disgrace and calamity of your country." If Lysicles had concerted any apology for his fatal error,—confounded, struck mute, by the penetrating justice of these severe words, he at-

* Dem. de Corona, sect. 57. Plut. in orat. x. vit. Hyper.

† Plut in Phocion.

tempted none: he was led away by the people to instant execution *.

Philip had shown so much respect to the Athenians, as to send home the bones of their soldiers who had fallen at Chæronea, in order that they might be honourably buried; and he had appointed his son and Antipater to attend as his deputies on the occasion †. These distinguished Macedonians, who still remained in the city, gave assurances of Philip's intentions to conclude a peace beneficial to the Athenians. As an earnest of his friendship, he confirmed them in possession of Oropus, which the Thebans had at length consented to resign. But it was not consistent with his plans to leave them in possession of the empire of the sea, with which they might make new efforts at ascendancy: he therefore seized the island of Samos by a stratagem. This mortifying stroke first made the Athenians sensible of their fall: yet peace was still offered to them on terms which could not but be regarded as favourable and advantageous. Their laws and constitution were preserved to them; and they were to retain their territories and dependencies as far as to the isle of Samos: and the only condition re-

* Diod. Sic. lib. xvi. 88.

† Leland's Philip, chap. v. 2. p. 428, edit. 1775.

quired by the conqueror, was, that they should send deputies to a general council which Philip had convened at Corinth, on an affair interesting to every state of Greece. Phocion, though not averse to peace, yet recommended that the people should not explain themselves, on this last article, until the particulars of Philip's scheme, and his intention in calling the assembly, were communicated. But Demades, now returned at the head of the prisoners who had been treated so generously, urged the people to comply with the terms proposed by Philip, whose kindness and moderation he extolled. His opinion, seconded by the necessity of their affairs, prevailed *.

As soon as the peace with Athens was ratified, Philip went to Corinth, where Grecian deputies from every state except Sparta, waited to receive his overtures. In the Amphictyonic council Philip declared his design of marching into Asia, to destroy the Persian monarchy, which had ever been formidable to Greece. "It is become necessary," he observed in an address which his eloquence qualified him in person to deliver, "to go and meet the Barbarians, whose ungovernable pride already "affects universal empire; therefore we must

* Leland's Philip, book v. 2. p. 432, 433, edit. 1775.

" submit to be slaves for ever, or resolve on a
" timely opposition. The question is not, whe-
" ther the Greeks are to have war or peace?
" but, whether they shall carry the war into
" the enemy's country, or receive it in their
" own? Nor does it behove us merely to re-
" venge former injuries, nor to be satisfied with
" preventing newly meditated insults and at-
" tacks: it is our duty immediately to liberate
" the Grecian colonies in Asia from Persian
" tyranny and rapacity. This desirable object
" might easily be gained, were the affairs of
" Greece adjusted, and an understanding esta-
" blished amongst all the states, so as to enable
" us to employ our confederate strength wholly
" in the transmarine war. The employment in
" a remote expedition, of those restless and
" audacious spirits, who, as a relief from inac-
" tivity, plunge into sedition and commotion,
" would introduce into Greece the advantage
" of complete domestic concord. Do we for-
" get, that when Greece was even in a divided
" state, Agesilaus, with an inconsiderable army,
" gave law to the satraps of the Persian king?
" Do we forget the triumphant actions, and
" the glorious retreat, of the ten thousand? Is
" it needful to recur to the jealousies which
" Persia has constantly fomented in our coun-
" try, to the animosities which her intrigues

" have bred and nourished, in order to arm " Greek against Greek? Let us turn to the " plains of Marathon! Is there any thing " wanting to inspire us with the highest ex- " pectations of success, now that the whole " force of this brave nation can be exerted " against a people enervated by luxury, and " depressed by slavery*?" He concluded by declaring himself a candidate for the high post of their general-in-chief in the expedition; and desired that the assembly should regulate the contingent which each state was to furnish; he, on his part, engaging to employ all the forces of his kingdom in the glorious cause†.

The Amphictyonic deputies, gained over by the arts of Philip, or influenced by their feelings as Greeks, received these propositions with plaudits. The representatives of the Grecian colonies pathetically and vehemently seconded Philip. A war against the Persians, if once resolved on, seemed naturally to devolve to the management of a prince who, in two religious wars, had already vindicated the honour of the gods; and none appeared so competent to conduct the enterprize as the king. The assembly in general were too sensible, that Philip possessed pe-

* Justin. lib. ix. 5. Diod. Sic. lib. xvi. 89.

† Leland's Philip, book v. 3. vol. ii. p. 443, edit. 1775.

netration, decision, valour, and military talents, to hesitate in the choice of a commander. The *expedition itself* wanted no recommendation to those Greeks who exultingly turned the brightest pages of their country's history, and aspired to emulate their ancestors. In the absence of representatives from Sparta, who, sullen or magnanimous, refused to let her voice be heard among the fallen Greeks,—the Arcadian deputies alone had the boldness to vote against conferring the command on the king: but they were soon silenced and discouraged by loud acclamations expressive of a general consent, both to engage in the expedition, and to constitute Philip the leader*.

When the number of forces to be furnished by each state was ascertained, it appeared that the whole army, thus contributed, would amount to two hundred and twenty thousand foot and fifteen thousand horse, exclusive of the Macedonians †; a prodigious force, and one which the Greeks had not, previously, a conception that their united efforts could raise ‡.

During these proceedings, Philip had sent

* Leland's Philip, book v. 3. vol. ii. p. 444, 445, edit. 1775.

† Compare this gigantic estimate with the force which Alexander led into Asia, [*infra*, book ii. chap. 3.] Modern calculations of armies assemoled on paper are not more delusive.

‡ Leland's Philip, book v. 3. vol. ii. p. 446, edit. 1775.

a letter to the Lacedæmonians,—in which he reproached them for detaching themselves from the affairs of Greece, and deserting the common cause; he demanded their concurrence, and intermixed some menaces to intimidate them. Their answer to him, was simply:

"If you imagine that your victory hath "made you greater, measure your shadow."

Philip made no reply to this surly morsel of sophistry: but pursued those negociations with the other states, which we have traced to a close. Gratified by the attainment of an object to which his ambition had long been directed, he lavished on the Grecian deputies munificent presents, and other expressions of friendly and liberal intentions towards them; and having employed his utmost address to induce them to spread among their countrymen sentiments favourable to his character, he dismissed them and returned to Pella*.

* Leland's Philip, book v. 3. vol. ii. p. 448, 449, edit. 1775.

CHAP. IX.

Dissentions in the family of Philip, who repudiates Olympias and marries Cleopatra. Pausanias assassinates Philip.

THIS prince, adored by his subjects and his army; revered or dreaded, and admired, in Greece and the surrounding countries, was not exempted from domestic misfortunes. His repeated violations of the marriage-bed, his open and abandoned licentiousness, inflamed the temper of his queen Olympias, naturally severe and haughty: at length, according to some representations, she revenged his infidelities, while, at the same time, she continued her reproaches and complaints. This conduct, calculated to extinguish all remains of affection in her husband, estranged him totally. He had had a succession of favourites *: he now resolved to marry Cleopatra, niece to Attalus, his kinsman and one of his generals. Alexander, when apprised of this intention, remonstrated against it; representing that his father, by divorcing Olympias in order to contract a second mar-

* Athenæi, lib. xiii. p. 557.

riage, exposed him to the danger of having competitors for the crown, and rendered his succession precarious. Alexander might intend an indirect allusion to the number of Philip's children by his concubines, who were now growing up. "My son!" said the king, "if I "surround you with competitors, you have left "open to you a glorious opportunity to surpass "them in merit: thus shall their rivalship by "no means affect your title*."

The king's marriage with Cleopatra was now declared in form, and celebrated with magnificence. The young prince, required to attend a round of solemnities and rejoicings, with the occasion of which he was dissatisfied, sat in silent indignation at that feast which proclaimed that his mother was degraded, and implied that she had been criminal; circumstances which must have made his youthful and impetuous mind exquisitely alive to the slightest irritation. Attalus, the uncle of the new queen, forgetting the politeness or the prudence which should have carefully abstained from any affront to the prince, and intoxicated by the elevation of his kinswoman, and perhaps literally intoxicated by bacchanal excess, was rash enough to call loudly on the Macedonian nobles, 'To of-

* Plut. in Alex. Plut. in Apophth.

'fer libations to the gods, and implore, that the 'happy fruits to the king of the present nup-'tials might be legitimate heirs to his throne.' "Wretch!" cried Alexander, his eyes sparkling with fury and vexation, which he had till now restrained, "dost thou call me bastard?" and instantly darted his goblet at Attalus, who returned the outrage with double violence. Clamour and confusion spread through the company; and the king, who sat at another table, unsheathed his sword, in a sudden tempest of rage, and flew towards his son. His impatient haste, his lameness, and the effects of freedoms taken with the wine, occasioned him to stumble, and happily disappointed his unpaternal purpose. While he lay extended on the floor,—Alexander, with insolence not to be palliated, cried out: "Macedonians! behold the king "who is preparing to lead you into Asia.—See, "in an expedition from that couch to this, he "is fallen to the ground*."

The serious complexion of the accident contributed to recover the party from disorder; Alexander retired. Quitting, soon after, his father's court, he conducted his mother Olympias into Epirus, whence he himself passed into Illyria. The preceding mark of disrespect to

* Plut. in Alex.

his father and his king merits censure emphatic and severe: and his retiring into a country where Philip was regarded as an enemy, wants the pretext of sudden irritation to excuse it, and can escape the charge of deep in-grained guilt only by supposing that Alexander considered, that in the territory of an ally of Macedonia, if his father, instigated by Attalus, were to prove unappeasable, he might be delivered up a helpless victim. It is not ascertained, it seems ridiculous to suspect, that Alexander fought in the army of the Illyrians, now actually engaged in hostilities against Philip: but he resided at the court of Pleurias, the Illyrian king, when the latter, undazzled by Philip's power and reputation, now at the highest, made a last effort for the independence of his country. Philip marched into Illyria at the head of all his forces, and gained a complete victory, after an obstinate conflict, in which he was personally exposed to imminent danger. The enemy's forces had poured collectively against him; and at a moment when he appeared on the point of sinking under their resolute attack,—Pausanias, a young Macedonian of illustrious birth, remarked in the court for the gracefulness of his person, interposed himself before the king, and without holding the shield before his own front, suffered the furious assailants to bury those wea-

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pons in his body, which were directed against his royal master. Dying in the field, he disclosed the secret of this desperate generosity to Attalus, his friend. He told him, that a young Macedonian, also called Pausanias, his companion and fellow-soldier, had stigmatized the affection which the king entertained for him, as springing from a shocking passion, which degraded its object below the rank of humanity; that, impatient of the unjust reproach, he had formed the resolution of proving, by his death, that his attachment to his prince was of the most virtuous kind, honourable to him as a man and a soldier. Attalus, deeply grieved at the cause of this desperate sacrifice, determined to revenge it on the surviving Pausanias *.

Philip, on his return to Pella, found there Demaratus the Corinthian, whom he received with the respect which he habitually paid to individuals of consideration and influence in the Hellenic states. In a serious conversation on the affairs of Greece, the king asked him, whether that people had forgot their animosities, and lived in harmony and amicable intercourse? Demaratus answered with a freedom which proved his regard to Philip: "How can you, Sir! "affect an attention to the tranquillity of

* Leland's Philip, book v. 3. p. 453, 454, edit. 1775.

" Greece, when your own family is distracted " by jars and dissentions?" The king, roused to reflection by this ingenuous reply, confessed his error, and declared an earnest resolution to extinguish his domestic quarrels. He immediately sent Demaratus into Illyria, to endeavour to recal Alexander to his duty: this amiable peace-maker brought Alexander to Pella. Olympias also appeared once more in the court of Philip; where, while she seemed to be satisfied with the titles of " queen," and " mother of the heir " presumptive to the throne," she secretly cherished an inveterate resentment against her husband and her rival, and laboured to inspire her son with corresponding sentiments *. She pressed on Alexander, how politic it would be, " To " increase the number of his friends by a win- " ning carriage, and by presents; and to fortify " himself against his father's anger, by alliances " with men who had command and authority." The king either penetrated these counsels, or observed their effects, as he admonished his son, ' That faithful servants were not to be gained by ' corrupt arts †.'

Some time afterwards, Pexodorus, king of Caria, made an offer of his daughter in marriage

* Leland's Philip, book v. 3. p. 454, 455, edit 1775.

† Plut. cap. 15; et Apophth. cap. 33. Plut. Apophth. cap. 31.

to Aridæus, one of Philip's natural sons, whose understanding had been impaired, in his childhood, by a poison given to him by Olympias, jealous of the affection which his father expressed for him. It was represented to Alexander by Olympias, seconded by her adherents, that this overture was perfectly agreeable to Philip, who intended to transfer Alexander's right of succession to Aridæus; they persuaded the prince to apply, therefore, privately to Pexodorus, and to offer to espouse his daughter himself, as the king of Caria could not hesitate in preferring his alliance to that of the ideot Aridæus. Of the private treaty which followed these suggestions, Philip was soon informed; he went to the apartment of his son with Philotas, one of Alexander's principal favourites, in whose presence he reproached him with his abject degeneracy, in courting the alliance of a native of Caria, a country held in such contempt as to be derided in a proverb: a conduct unworthy of his birth, and of the throne which his father reserved for him as his undoubted right. Alexander was unable to answer this charge: but Philip, in order to effect a complete reconciliation with his son, appeared to forget all animosities, and suffered the blame of this affair to fall entirely on the agents and assistants.—Harpalus, Nearchus, Phrygius, and Ptolemy, Macedonian no-

bles, who had assisted the young prince by their counsels, were banished; and Thessalus, the principal agent, was, under the king's order, seized at Corinth and sent in chains to Macedon *.

While Philip indulged his ambition with schemes of greatness and renown, insensible of the dangers impending over him from the unrelenting hatred and revenge of Olympias; an occurrence, which raised considerable commotion in the court, furnished his repudiated queen and incensed son with a powerful assistant to their designs. Attalus had concealed, till now, his purpose—of revenging the death of the self-devoted Pausanias in Illyria, by an infernal retaliation on the surviving Pausanias. With an appearance of friendship for the latter, he invited him to a feast: here, when he had, by wine and revelling, rendered him insensible and incapable of resistance,—with a horrid exultation, he called in his menial servants, and exposed the unhappy young nobleman to their detestable insults. Pausanias, when sensible of this brutal outrage, with the fury and indignation of a generous mind, hastened to the king, urged his wrongs, and loudly called for justice and vengeance on Attalus. The cause of this

* Leland's Philip, book v. 3. p. 455, 456, edit. 1775.

vile transaction had, probably, been disclosed to Philip; which, operating with his regard for the uncle of his new queen, unfortunately influenced him more than the just complaints of an injured subject. Eluding the demand of Pausanias for redress, he endeavoured to dissipate his vexation, and vainly imagined, that the conferring on him a higher command in the army would allay the irritating recollection of his wrongs. But the wounds inflicted on the honour of Pausanias were not thus healed; and the disappointment of revenge added Philip to the objects of his resentment*.

The partisans of Olympias and Alexander, in officious interviews with Pausanias, who was alternately subject to rage and dejection, expressed the deepest sense of his injuries; representing that the king, by denying justice, made himself an accomplice in the guilt of Attalus; and that the abhorred outrage could not be atoned without signal and illustrious vengeance†.

The secret emissaries of Persia appear to have availed themselves of this chain of odious circumstances, as an opportunity to free their country from a formidable enemy; making Pausanias the principal instrument of a conspiracy against the life of Philip‡.

* Leland's Philip, book v. 3. p. 458, 459, edit. 1775.
† Ibid. p. 459. ‡ Arrian. lib. ii. cap. 14.

This unhappy youth, brooding over the degradation of his character with a distracted and corroded mind, went accidentally into the school of Hermocrates, a professed teacher of philosophy; to whom he proposed the following question: "What shall that man do, who proposes "to transmit his name with lustre to poste-"rity?" Hermocrates, either because he had been drawn into the vortex of the conspiracy, or from the natural malignity of his temper, replied: "He must kill him who hath achieved "the greatest actions: thus shall the memory "of him who slays, be joined with that of the "hero, and both descend together to posterity." The mind of Pausanias, so far from being in a disposition to revolt at this proposition, greedily received it. Thus various accidents and circumstances concurred to prompt him to the dreadful purpose of satiating his revenge with the blood of Philip *.

In the meantime, the king, confiding that he had restored the tranquillity of his family, turned his whole attention to his schemes of greatness, and the expedition against Persia. He already began the war, by detaching Attalus and Parmenio to the Grecian colonies in Asia, where expelling some of the Persian garrisons,

* Diod. Sic. lib. xvi. 94.

they restored the inhabitants to freedom and independence *.

Previously to embarking in the enterprize with the entire strength of his kingdom and allies,—Philip consulted the Delphic oracle, confiding that the prediction respecting the event of the undertaking would be such as to animate his soldiers to a sanguine height. The inquiry drew this answer from the Pythian priestess:

> " In fatal pomp, now stands the victim crown'd!
> " The arm already rais'd, that deals the wound †."

It did not require much overstraining accommodation to interpret the victim to be the Persians, as marked out a sacrifice to the gods, to atone for the profanations which those Barbarians had formerly committed on the temples in Greece.

Just as the king was on the point of departing on the expedition, his queen Cleopatra was delivered of a son. Nearly at the same time, another gratifying domestic occurrence completed his satisfaction: he concluded a marriage between one of his daughters, named, like his new queen, Cleopatra, and Alexander, king of Epirus, the brother of Olympias: by this new tie, he conceived that he had secured himself

* Diod. Sic. lib. xvi. sect. 91. † Ibid.

against any attempts of his first queen, to disturb the tranquillity of his kingdom through the assistance of her brother. Philip, in his exultation at these joyful events, ordered solemn games and festivals to be celebrated; and selected Ægæ as the scene of magnificence. Thither, on his invitation, deputies from every Grecian state, and all the individuals honoured with marks of his particular consideration and friendship, repaired. The concourse was great and splendid: the Grecian cities vied with each other in expressing respect and affection for the leader of their armies. Many of them presented him with crowns of gold: Athens, in presenting her crown, took so conspicuous a part as to proclaim, by a herald, her interest in the preservation of Philip's life, and a determination to exclude the man who should make an attempt against it an asylum in her territory *.

To the games succeeded a magnificent banquet. His great designs so filled the mind of Philip, that, surrounded by gaiety, he asked Neoptolemus if he could repeat any verses applicable to the affairs of Persia: The player, to flatter his master, recited a passage from a tragedy called *Cinyras*, which, he conceived, could apply only to Persian pride and ambition:

* Justin. lib. ix. 7. Pausan. in Arcad. Diod. lib. xvi. 91, 92.

In dazzling pomp, O fatally elate!
Whose tow'ring hopes, whose thoughts, (how great!)
Excursive, grasp imaginary sway
O'er realms and nations vast and wide,
With vain, delusive pride:
Yea, seize heav'n's concave in their airy way:—

Lo! where, in unexpected direful hour,
Death comes, inexorable pow'r!
To blast these hopes, amidst their faitest bloom;
Led by pale horror and despair,
He stops this mad career,
And buries all in night's eternal gloom *.

The day succeeding the feast was assigned to entertainments of the theatre, to which the guests and attendants of Philip began to move by dawn, marshalled in stately order. Twelve statues of the gods were borne in procession; a thirteenth statue followed, of more exquisite materials and workmanship, representing the king of Macedon, by which it was presumptuously indicated that he was not unworthy to rank among the divinities. When the Greeks and Macedonians were seated in the theatre, Philip came out of his palace, attended by the two Alexanders, his son and son-in-law. Clothed in a white, flowing robe, the kind of habiliment in which the Grecian deities were usu-

* Leland's Philip, book v. 3. p. 463, 464, edit. 1775.

ally represented,—he moved exultingly forward, evidently gratified by the applauses of admiring crowds. His guards had been ordered to keep at a distance, in order to show the confidence of the king in the affections of his people, and in the loyalty of the states and nations his allies. Philip had now arrived at the entrance of the theatre, where in a narrow passage he found a young Macedonian nobleman waiting his approach; it was Pausanias; the king reached the spot; Pausanias drew his poniard, and plunged it into his heart; and the conqueror of Greece, and terror of Asia, fell prostrate, and instantly expired*. *Olymp.* cxi. 1. *A. C.* 336. *Ætat. Alex.* 21.

The murderer flew towards a gate of the city, where were stationed horses prepared for his escape. In the tumult and confusion of the scene, some of the Macedonians crowded round the fallen king with ineffectual attention, while others pursued Pausanias. Among these, were Perdiccas, Attalus, and Leonatus; the first, who excelled in swiftness, came up to the assassin, as he was just ready to mount his horse: but one of the feet of Pausanias entangling in some vines, a violent effort to break away, brought him to the ground. As he prepared to rise, Perdiccas confined him, and, with his companions,

* Leland's Philip, book v. 3. p. 465—467, edit. 1775.

soon dispatched him by repeated wounds. His body was immediately hung on a gibbet: but, in the morning, it appeared crowned with a golden diadem; an appendage, by which Olympias betrayed her implacable resentment to Philip. In a few days, she more explicitly published her exultation in her husband's fall, by dividing, in an equal degree, to the corpse of Pausanias, the funereal honours prepared for Philip: both bodies were burned on the same pile, and the ashes of both deposited in the same tomb. She is said to have prevailed on the Macedonians to solemnize annual obsequies to Pausanias. She consecrated to Apollo the dagger which had been the instrument of the fatal deed, having inscribed it with the word "Myrtalis," her name before the loves between her and the king began*. Thus died Philip, king of Macedon, at the age of forty-seven years: after a reign of twenty-four, spent in sudden strokes of policy; deliberate schemes of prospective greatness, many of which he saw matured; enterprizes of difficulty and danger, seldom abortive, never calamitous to his arms, and mostly fortunate; in insinuating encroachments; bold aggressions; wars, chiefly offensive, and for the sake of conquest; intervals of

* Leland's Philip, book v. 3. p. 467, 468, edit. 1775.

peace, in which the lap of peace was used as a couch for hostility to refresh and recover strength; remote expeditions, which made the chastised Barbarians, on every frontier, shrink from renewing their invasions, converted from marauders to patient tributaries; well concerted campaigns against the Greeks, and decisive victories over their disciplined armies. He enlarged Macedon as a territory, and exalted it as a state. He excelled his courtiers in accomplishments; and was superior to his ministers and generals in polity and tactics. He shone as a master of address and eloquence, on no occasions more than when replying to the speeches of a legation of Attic orators. With talents that might have made him truly great, he often sacrificed humanity and justice to false glory. The historian who should descend to all the particulars of his private life, would have sometimes to dip his reluctant pen in infamy.

Olympias, taking a cruel advantage of the king's death, forced Cleopatra, the niece of Attalus, to hang herself; and the child, which that queen had had by Philip, born a few days before his death, she murdered with circumstances of atrocious barbarity, and unwomanly revenge, roasting it in a brazen vessel. Not satisfied with this, she extended to the relations and dependants of the queen, whose death made

further rivalry impossible, the excesses of her raging implacability; and she took, in their fall, a gratification proportioned to the degradation and misery which she could inflict.

CHAP. X.

Difficulties under which Alexander commenced his reign. He punishes the conspirators against Philip.

AT this crisis, Alexander appeared, as a star of benevolent influence, to allay a tempest, which, extending its concussions beyond the agitated court, shook the kingdom. The Greeks whom Philip had subjugated, already conceived hopes of liberty: the neighbouring Barbarians had recommenced their troublesome inroads: and those affairs which depend on a steady and vigorous government, were sinking into confusion. Attalus, who was at the head of no contemptible army, had insinuated himself into the affections of the soldiers; and his consanguinity with some of the principal families in Macedon, gave him great influence over them; and this connection he had extended, by contracting to marry the sister of Philotas: it was impossible for Alexander

to rely on this commander, after the indelible and injurious acts of insult and hatred which had mutually passed between Attalus on the one part, and Alexander and his mother. The stability of the untried sovereign's power, was more strongly menaced by Amyntas, the son of Perdiccas, Philip's elder brother: this prince, who had been made one of Philip's sons-in-law, by receiving Cyna in marriage, aspired to the succession, to which he intended to step by the murder of Alexander. A great part of the people, from aversion to the tyranny of Olympias, or from propensity to novelty, while they participated in disaffection to Alexander, were divided by attachment to the clashing factions of Attalus and Amyntas. There were others, whose opposition to Alexander rested on foundations still more remote; not scrupling to assert, that, in the preceding age, Amyntas II. had unjustly seized the throne, an usurpation which Philip had continued; and that the crown, now, ought to revert to Alexander the descendant* of Æropus. No faction ever had

* He is usually called the "son" of Æropus, which it is possible he was: however, as the reigns of PAUSANIAS, AMYNTAS II. ALEXANDER II. PERDICCAS III. AND PHILIP, intervened between the reign of Æropus and that of our Alexander, after whose name the ordinal distinction "the Third" is lost in that of "the Great;" it is probable that he was at least as distant, in the descending line, as the degree of grandson. And it is equally probable, that the

recourse to a weaker pretext: as Æropus appears, from history *, to have been an usurper of no ordinary presumption and infamy; atrociously supplanting Orestes, (the son of Archelaus,) about whose person he had been employed as a tutor.

The individuals forming the army, the jealous natives of various nations, disagreed in their counsels and diverged in their courses, as they felt a disposition to support the pretensions of this or that party. Alexander was new in his government, and Philip's sudden death had denied time to provide against the impending commotions; and though the abilities of the prince might have justified the highest expectations, many regarded only his youth, in their undervaluing and invidious estimate. 'They 'could not imagine, that a person barely twenty 'years of age, could support such a weight as 'the Macedonian government.' To increase the difficulties of Alexander,—money, one of the principal nerves of war and political influence, was wanting: while the Persians were enabled,

word "Æropus" was the material part of his patronymic to many historians, who seem to have introduced it merely to distinguish him from the son of Philip, indifferent about his exact relation to Æropus, as they mention, without canvassing, his claim. Suspecting "son" to be inaccurate, the Translator has substituted a word of comprehensive latitude.

* Diod. Sic. lib. xiv. 37.

by their great riches, to maintain in activity, throughout Greece, emissaries corrupting the people. To close this catalogue of embarrassing evils, the Tuscan pirates infested and plundered the maritime parts of Macedonia.

Alexander summoned his confidential adherents, to deliberate with him on the state of public affairs. Some of these advised, 'That 'suspending attention to Greece, he should endeavour, by mildness and insinuation, to recover to their duty, both the disaffected Macedonians and revolted Barbarians; that, the intestine murmurs and commotions being allayed, 'he might with the more ease repress any disorders in the dependent and tributary states.'

But the young prince, with magnanimity and decision, rejected these timid counsels. He told the proposers of them, 'That he 'should be *for ever* exposed to the contempt 'of all the world, if, *in the beginning of his* 'reign, he suffered himself to be despised; 'that 'that impression of his character, which he 'should stamp upon general opinion, at his 'entering upon the government, would influence the tenor of his whole life. That the 'death of Philip was no less unexpected to the 'rebels than to himself; that, therefore, while 'they were yet in the disorder of hurry, and irresolute as to their measures, the insurrection

'might be easily suppressed: whereas, delay 'would encourage the authors of the sedition, 'and give time to the wavering to join with the 'openly disaffected; and that it would be doubly 'difficult to reduce an enemy thus prepared 'and confirmed. At present, the event of the 'affair depended less upon strength than upon 'anticipation and expedition. That if he show-'ed any fear of the tributary states, while they 'were single and disunited, what would protect 'him when a timid, impolitic forbearance should 'have invited them to attack him with confe-'derated forces?'

To the people he, afterwards, made a speech to the same effect; adding, 'That he had pro-'ceedings in contemplation, which should 'make both his subjects and his enemies ac-'knowledge, that, by his father's death, the 'name and person only of the king was 'changed; that, with regard to conduct and 'courage, they should not find him a different 'commander. That notwithstanding some ma-'lignant spirits had taken that opportunity to 'excite disturbances, they should, shortly, be 'punished suitably to their demerits, if the Ma-'cedonians would lend him the same courage 'and nerves with which they had, for so many 'years, assisted his father, and by which they 'had reaped glory and victory, followed by

'permanent benefits. That to encourage them 'to take the field with cheerfulness and ala- 'crity, he discharged them of all duties, except 'that of military service.'

Fortune seconded the king's designs, which he executed, in every particular, with as much energy as he had imparted them. He took at once measures for his personal safety; and vindicated his loyalty to his father. He defeated the treasonable practices of Amyntas; and he took off Attalus, by the agency of Hecatæus and Parmenio. Of the conspirators against Philip, he pardoned only Lyncestes; who was distinguished by this lenity, and permitted to attend Alexander when he entered upon the sovereignty, because he had been the first that saluted him "king." He ordered the execution of all the rest; conceiving that, by thus severely avenging Philip, he should promote his own safety, and effectually silence the report that he had been privy to his father's death.

The frequent dissentions between Philip and Alexander, had obtained partial reception for a rumour, that Pausanias had disclosed to the prince his wrongs and his discontent, and that Alexander had wickedly spurred him on to execute his half-avowed desperate design, by quoting a line of Euripides, in which Medea threatens

to involve in one great sacrifice to her resentment,

THE FATHER, BRIDE, AND HUSBAND.

At a subsequent era of his life, Alexander, in a letter to Darius, throws the odium of Philip's assassination upon the Persians, asserting that Persian gold had corrupted the murderers. And just previous to his death, in order to leave a solemn and permanent testimony against the suspicion, that he could have connived at so foul a transaction, he had it in contemplation to build a magnificent temple in honour of his father. This, like many of his meditated works, though he left an explicit memorial of his intention, was neglected by his successors.

CHAP. XI.

Alexander prevents the revolt of the Thessalians. At Thermopylæ; at Corinth; is elected to succeed his father, as general of the Greeks. His interview with Diogenes. Accepts an incidental expression of the Pythian priestess, as an oracle. Reduces Thrace. Omens of his good fortune. In an expedition against the Triballi his success is incomplete.

ALEXANDER, perceiving that to retain the sovereignty of Greece, which Philip had so re-

cently acquired, was essential to the prosecution and completion of greater projects, marched an army, with unhalting celerity, to the frontiers of Thessaly, before the people of that country had time to concert any formidable opposition. Some of the Thessalians had begun to lift their views up to independence; and having possessed themselves of the streits at Tempe, obstructed the march of Alexander through that important pass. Between the mountains, Olympus and Ossa, which constitute a barrier between Macedon and Thessaly, a small opening left by nature forms this valley, not more celebrated by the historians than by the poets. The river Peneus enriches it with permanent verdure; on each side of the current, which falls with a melodious cadence,—inviting green alleys, arbours of laurel, grottoes excavated in the hill-sides *, are heightened in their romantic effect by the warbling of birds; to breathe the salubrious air, is to respire refreshment and happiness; the picturesque scenery is a "festival for the "eyes;" the ancients honoured the place with sacrifices, as the most delightful on earth. The military track through an asylum of sequestered amenity, which should not have been disturbed by the clashing of arms, extended in length

* Translation of Anacharsis' Travels, vol. ii.

forty stadia*; in the narrowest parts it will hardly admit a loaded horse, so that ten men are a garrison for the pass. But Alexander made his way over rocks, which had been deemed impervious, cutting steps up the side of mount Ossa, resembling a winding staircase, and so terrified the people by decision and celerity, that, without farther opposition, they decreed him the tributes and revenues, together with the sovereignty, on the same conditions on which Philip had enjoyed them. The king, on his part, granted an immunity from all duties to Phthia, because it had been the birth-place of Achilles, the founder of his family; declaring that that hero should be his model, as though he were his companion and fellow-soldier, in the war he was about to undertake against the Persians.

From Phthiotis, Alexander marched to Thermopylæ, where was sitting the grand council of Greece; termed, whenever this *gate* of Greece was the place of convention, the *Pylaic* council. At this public assembly of the states, he was solemnly created captain-general of the Greeks, in the room of his father. He had the policy to confirm to the Ambraciotæ their liberty, which, a few days previously,

* About a league and a half.

they had recovered by driving out the Macedonian garrison; assuring them that he should have spontaneously restored them to freedom, if they had not prevented his intention.

Alexander now led his army to Thebes: where, after having subdued the pertinacity of Bœotia and Athens, the two states who had most opposed his measures, he ordered all the Greek deputies to meet him at Corinth. At this assembly, the former decree of the Amphictyons was confirmed; and he was, by their suffrages, commissioned to succeed Philip as captain-general of Greece. At the same time, the council declared the amount of force which each state was to furnish in the Persian war.

In the city of Corinth resided Diogenes, who had embraced voluntary poverty, according to the principles of the cynics; preferring a free mind, under self-controul, to riches and cares. The eccentric philosopher was sunning himself in a cypress grove, planted in the Craneum, a part of the suburbs of Corinth, when Alexander, drawn by strong curiosity, approached. The king, in a condescending manner, inquired, in what he might gratify or oblige him: "Move on one side," said the cynic, "and do not intercept the sun-beams." Surprized at this unexpected reply, the Macedonian could not refrain from admiring the

man, whom a monarch in the height of prosperity had it not in his power to oblige; exclaiming, that "He should choose to be Dio-"genes if he were not Alexander." For that elevation of mind with which the philosopher looked down upon all those things in the pursuit of which the rest of mankind sacrifice themselves, did not escape the penetration of the youthful sovereign; at the same time, he was too blinded by insatiable desires to be able to comprehend how much better it might be to resign superfluities than to possess necessaries; or rather, than to possess those conveniencies, which, in the overrating opinion of mankind, are considered as necessaries.

On leaving the Peloponnesus, the sanguine leader of the Greeks visited Delphi, to inquire from Apollo the event of the Persian expedition. The virgin priestess having declared it to be unlawful to consult the deity for some days, Alexander went to her, and seized her with his own hands, and was proceeding to drag her forcibly to the temple. In her way thither, after silently reflecting that the custom of the country had been overcome by the king's singular procedure, she cried out: "Thou art invincible, my "son!" At which words he stopped her, saying, "That he accepted the omen, and that there "was no occasion for any further oracle."

These transactions of Alexander in Greece, passed in a small space of time. Returned to his kingdom, he vigorously applied himself to vindicate the dignity of the Macedonian sceptre. Every thing prepared, he marched from Amphipolis in the beginning of the spring, against the unsubdued inhabitants of Thrace; and in ten days arrived at mount Hæmus. A great body of Thracians, to obstruct his progress, had taken possession of the summit of a mountain commanding the pass. Round their camp they had planted war-chariots so as to resemble an entrenchment, intending to roll them down upon their assailants. Alexander penetrating the stratagem of the Barbarians, gave orders to his soldiers, 'That upon the furious advance of the cha-'riots, they should open to the right and left, and 'thus let them pass without mischief; and such 'Macedonians as could not move in time, 'should fall flat upon the ground, covering 'themselves with their bucklers, as its impene-'trable shell covers the tortoise.' Thus, they rendered abortive the enemy's stratagem; for a great part of the chariots rushed through the avenues made for them; and those which whirled over the Macedonians couching under targets, flew with too bounding and rapid a course to crush by their weight the individuals whom they touched. Thus the tempest rattled by

with harmless thunder. When delivered from this terror, the Macedonians with eager acclamations began the charge. The archers from the right wing, advancing, galled the protruding van of the Barbarians with incessant flights of arrows. So that the phalanx was covered while it moved up to the summit of the mountain: here they had no sooner rendered their footing firm, than the victory ceased to be doubtful; and they had merely to drive or disperse the enemy, who were either naked or but slightly armed. But the circumstance of not being loaded with accoutrements, which had exposed the Barbarians during the engagement, promoted their flight; and the greater part escaped without difficulty, being well acquainted with the country. About fifteen hundred men were killed; a great number of women and children were taken; and the conqueror obtained a booty which appeared ample, contrasted with the known penury of the country. He sent the plunder and the captives of both sexes, escorted by Lysanias and Philotas, to be sold in the maritime cities on the Euxine*.

Having opened a passage through mount Hæmus, he penetrated into the interior of Thrace. The inhabitants of that country had

* Arrian. Alexand. Expedit lib. i. p. 2, et seq.

a grove consecrated by their ancestors to Bacchus, whom they held in peculiar veneration. Here, while Alexander was sacrificing according to Barbarian rites, there arose from the wine which he poured on the altar a column of flame, which mounting above the roof of the temple, seemed aspiring to the heavens: hence the spectators inferred, that the king's glory was to have no other bounds. Another prodigy countenanced the interpretation of the preceding. In the country of the Odryssa, in the interior of Thrace, stands the mountain Libethrus, which gives its name to the city renowned as the birth-place of Orpheus: here, the statue of the poet, carved of cypress wood, and watched with deifying attention, was observed to sweat profusely. Witnesses of this phenomenon reported it to the king. Many were fearfully solicitous to know what it portended. Aristander dissipated their anxiety, by announcing, that the perspiration of the statue prefigured the arduous employment which the exploits of Alexander would create for future poets, and was a symbol of the generous heat with which so ennobling a subject would fire them*.

The Triballi, a brave people, inhabit the re-

* *Quibus decantandis alumni filiique Musarum multum* desudaturi *essent.*—FREINSH.——To translate this literally, might, in these days, injure the reputation of Aristander, as a conjuror.

gion which lies beyond mount Hæmus. Syrmus, their king, apprized of the Macedonian expedition, had fled to Peucé; an island in the Ister, carrying with him all incapacitated by sex or age for service in the field: the river, which had steep and rugged banks, availing Syrmus as a fortification, contributed, with the vigilance and bravery with which it was defended, to foil the attack of Alexander, who had few ships. What fleet Alexander had, he had just received from Byzantium *. The Macedonians were forced to retire, without adding the reduction of the island to their successes. In their approach to it, they had attacked a separate army of the Triballi, and, losing scarcely fifty men, had killed three thousand of the enemy.

CHAP. XII.

Alexander's expedition beyond the Ister against the Getæ. Embassy from the Germans: whose alliance he accepts. He grants peace to the Triballi. Guards against commotions in Thrace. Defeats a rebellion of the Illyrians.

RELINQUISHING the attempt to reduce king Syrmus, Alexander turned the fury of his

* Arrian, ut supra.

arms against the Getæ, who, on the opposite bank, seemed to challenge him with four thousand horse and ten thousand foot, drawn up in order of battle. He undertook this dangerous enterprize not so much for any useful influence which it might have on the war, as from a desire of fame, and that he might enjoy the triumph of having effected over the largest river in Europe, a passage which ferocious nations stood armed to dispute. Having embarked as many cavalry, fifteen hundred, as could be received in a few vessels collected from the natives, who had employed them in fishing, commerce, or piracy,—he transported four thousand infantry, partly in boats obtained in the same way; and partly—on hides filled with straw, on bladders, and other buoyant materials. Night favoured their passage, and fields of high and thick corn masked their landing. He directed the foot to march through the corn with transversed spears, to facilitate their passage through it, and to promote their concealment*; the cavalry moved in the rear, till the Macedonians had penetrated to the plain, when the cavalry advanced to the front. The Getæ, struck with terror at the unexpected appearance of their enemies, scarcely bore the first charge of the

* Gillies's Greece, chap. xxxvii.

cavalry; and no sooner arrived the phalanx under Nicanor, than they fled in precipitate disorder to a town four miles distant from the river. Though the king did not pursue without skirting the river, to avoid the danger of an ambush, they had barely time to escape to the northern desert with their wives and children, and such things as they could hastily transport on horses.

The booty which they had abandoned, was consigned to the care of Meleager and Philip. In the same day,—Alexander demolished the town; erected on the banks of the Ister, altars to Jupiter and Hercules, and to the god of the Ister, because it had been propitious in his passage; and retired with the army, satisfied with a bloodless victory.

He was followed by messengers, as well from king Syrmus as from the bordering nations, bringing presents, and soliciting peace. There now, also, reached him ambassadors from the Celts or Germans, who inhabit the whole region which lies between the Adriatic gulf and the source of the Ister; rising in Germany, this river, in the language of that country, is called the *Danube*. The king suppressed his astonishment at their large stature; and to chastise their evident haughtiness of spirit, asked them, what, of all things, they most dreaded? expecting

them to acknowlege, that his victories had intimidated them. But they replied, 'That they 'were not greatly afraid of any thing, unless it 'were that the heavens might fall upon their 'heads; at the same time, they had a value for 'the friendship of brave men.' Struck with so unexpected an answer, he was silent for an interval, or consumed the interval in whispering to his attendants: "The Celtæ are an arrogant "nation." He then declared them his friends, and entered into that alliance which these rugged negociators had come to seek *.

He granted peace to Syrmus, and the nations bordering on the Triballi.

Feeling that he had sufficiently asserted the honour of his arms in these inhospitable regions, he turned his mind to the expedition against Persia, where the prize was higher, while the difficulty and danger were less. His uncle, Alexander of Epirus, surnamed Molossus, afterwards reflected on him as having directed his arms eastward from this motive. The king of Epirus, who in several severe campaigns invaded our rising state, while Alexander of Macedon was over-running Persia, complained of the inequality of their lots, observing: "I con-

* Arrian, lib. i. p. 5. Strabo, lib. viii. p. 208, 209.

" tend with men; my nephew, with wo-
" men *."

On his return, Alexander carried with him the chieftains of Thrace, and such of the inhabitants as were distinguished by their riches, activity, or courage, lest they should attempt any innovation in his absence. He led them in his train under the pretext, that they were selected to be his companions in the Persian war. He knew that faction becomes a motionless hydra, when deprived of its heads.

In his course homeward through the countries of the Agrians and the Pæonians, Alexander received intelligence of a commotion in Illyria. To trace back for an interval the history of Macedonia and Illyria,—When Philip, on the death of Perdiccas, assumed the government, he found part of Macedon in possession of the victorious Illyrians, and the remainder subject to a disgraceful tribute. To rescue the independence of his country, Philip waited only till he had disposed of his other enemies, before he marched an army of ten thousand foot and

* The description of the Persian army, infra, book iii. chap. 3. sect. 7. will justify Alexander of Epirus in calling them women. Still the extraordinary brilliancy of his nephew's exploits in an expedition, an obligation to prosecute which, descended to him with his crown, appears too conspicuous to require vindication.

six hundred horse against the Illyrians. Bardyllis, by talents and valour, had risen from the obscure condition of a collier to be king of Illyria, a post in which he had established himself by remarkable equity in partitioning the spoil with his soldiers. This leader, now at the age of ninety, sensible of the extraordinary abilities and vigour of Philip, now in the summer of life, proposed a peace on the basis, that each party should retain his present possessions. Philip, on the contrary, insisted that Bardyllis should immediately evacuate all his conquests in Macedon: Bardyllis answered by advancing into the field: the two armies met; and, after a sanguinary conflict, the Illyrians were totally defeated with the loss of seven thousand men killed, among whom fell their warlike leader *. In consequence of this battle, Illyria sunk into a province dependent on Macedon; and so remained, without an effort to rise till the present era of Alexander's life. But Clitus, the son of Bardyllis, conceiving it to be a favourable moment to burst from subjection, while Alexander was engaged with the powerful nations beyond the Ister, prevailed upon the Illyrians to revolt, and concerted an alliance with Glaucias, king of the Taulantii, another Illyrian tribe. Fur-

* Leland's Philip, book i. sect. 2.

ther, Clitus had gained to his desperate purpose the Autariatæ, who undertook to fall suddenly upon the Macedonians during their march. Langarus, king of the Agrians, who, in the life-time of Philip, had corresponded with Alexander, remained true to his interest, imparted what he knew of the design, and entreated Alexander to commit the management of the latter people to him, promising that the Agrians should furnish the Autariatæ so much employment, that, in the necessity of defending themselves, they would cease to think of disturbing the Macedonians. The king encouraged this young prince with high commendations of his fidelity; honoured him with magnificent presents; and, on dismissing him, promised, that should Langarus perform the service which he had undertaken, he should receive in marriage Cyna, Alexander's sister, whom Philip had had by an Illyrian woman, and had given to Amyntas. The Agrian chief was faithful and successful: but died before he could be put in possession of the promised reward.

The Autariatæ counteracted and reduced, Alexander advanced, without opposition, as far as Pellion, a town in Dessaretia, situate on the river Eordaicus. The Autariatæ here, indeed, presented a countenance as determined to give him battle, rushing out of their fortresses with

every demonstration of fury: but they fled before Alexander could commence the action, notwithstanding they had possessed themselves of all the advantageous posts, and of the roads which were rendered difficult by extreme narrowness, or dangerous by the neighbourhood of woods. The Macedonians now met a spectacle to disgust and shock them: Three boys, as many virgins, and three black rams; all slaughtered together; lying in a confused heap: The blood of these the Barbarians, incited by a horrible superstition, had mingled, in their cruel rites, as a sacrifice to the gods, in order to obtain courage in battle: but the offended deity revenged the inhumanity and impiety of these guilty wretches, by refusing to animate them with courage, and by causing them to expose their extreme cowardice.

The king having driven them within their fortifications, proposed to confine them there by raising an outward wall; but the arrival, on the following day, of Glaucias, chief of the Taulantii, with a great force, dissipated all his expectations of taking the town, and obliged him to plan a safe retreat. Meanwhile, Philotas had been sent out with an escort of horse, to forage with the cattle used to transport the baggage: Alexander was now informed that the detachment was in danger; for Glaucias,

who had seized the heights which surrounded the plain, was waiting to fall upon it. The king, therefore, leaving a part of his army in the camp, to prevent any sallies from the town, marched promptly with the rest of the troops to support Philotas: by this movement he intimidated the Illyrians, and safely conducted the foragers to the camp.

In his line of march, he had to provide against many obstacles and dangers; for the river, on one side, and steep and craggy heights, on the other, left so compressed an interval for a road, that, in places, it was difficult for four men to march abreast; and Glaucias had posted, on the overlooking hills, several companies of archers and slingers, with a considerable detachment of heavy-armed soldiers. This induced Alexander to place two hundred cavalry before the right, and as many before the left wing of the phalanx, directing both these covering parties, 'To keep their spears erect till a preconcerted 'signal; then to present them to the enemy, fa-'cing to the right, or to the left, as in the act 'of making a charge.' This stratagem kept the enemy in suspense. The phalanx, divided into two bodies, at the same time pressed quickly forward. At length, reuniting the phalanx, Alexander drew it up in the form of a wedge, and fell furiously on the Illyrian forces, who,

amazed at the promptitude and generalship of the movement, fled hastily towards the town. The few enemies which remained on the mountain which the Macedonians had thus passed, the king now dislodged, and with two thousand Agrians and his archers took possession of the post, in order to cover and facilitate the passage of the phalanx over the Eordaicus. Nor was this unobserved by the enemy, who having watched till the completely-armed of Alexander's force had passed the river, suddenly carried their whole army toward the mountains, to assail the Macedonian rear. But the king, who commanded these light troops in person, received them with undaunted firmness; while the phalanx, with loud acclamations, appeared in motion to repass the river to succour their companions in arms; demonstrations which struck terror into the Illyrians. Alexander, who had foreseen these incidents in succession, had ordered his troops, on reaching the opposite side, to form in order of battle, and to extend their left (which inclined toward the river and the enemy) as far as possible, in order to make the more formidable display. The Taulantii, led by this stratagem to expect that the whole army would fall upon them, retired to a small distance. Alexander, seizing the opportunity, moved with celerity to the river,

which he passed with the first body; and to protect those bringing up the rear from being further harrassed by the enemy, he disposed his engines on the bank so as to pour across furious discharges of missile weapons upon the Barbarians; such of his troops as had already entered the river plying them, at the same time, with darts and arrows. By this means forcing the enemy to fall back, he brought the most exposed of his companies over without the loss of an individual.

Three days afterwards, the king received intelligence that the enemy, imputing his departure to fear, and regarding all danger to themselves as ceased, straggled here and there without order or precaution, having round their camp neither breast-work nor entrenchment, nor advanced guards, nor centinels. Taking, therefore, with him, the archers and Agrians, and that body of Macedonians which Perdiccas and Cænos commanded, Alexander repassed the river in the night, and marched towards the Barbarians with incessant expedition, commanding the rest of the army to follow. Without waiting the junction, a delay which might have forfeited the opportunity, he sent forward the light-armed soldiers; then with such other forces as he had collected, falling himself upon the enemy, whom he found unarmed and half-

asleep, he made a great slaughter, took a considerable number prisoners, and put the remainder to flight, pursuing them as far as the mountains of the Taulantii. Clitus, in complete consternation, at first took refuge in Pellion: but afterwards, distrusting either the fortifications or his troops, he burnt the town; and deserting both the Autariatæ and his own Illyrians, went to live in exile among the Taulantii.

CHAP. XIII.

The Thebans, deceived by a rumour that Alexander had been killed, perfidiously murder his officers in the Cadmea, and commence hostilities. They send embassies to the other states. Demosthenes' public advice, and individual conduct. Temporizing policy of a venal Arcadian leader. Alexander's rapid march. His moderation. The obstinacy of the Thebans. The city stormed and taken. Sufferings of the Thebans. Pindar's posterity among the families spared and favoured. Anecdote of Timoclea.

MEANWHILE, a rumour pervading Greece that Alexander had been killed by the Triballi, inspired the enemies of the Macedonian interest with sanguine hopes of a revolution. Men of-

ten draw upon themselves real calamities, by a propensity to believe, on the slightest authority, news which meets their wishes; and to measures commenced on the faith of a fabrication, they adhere as tenaciously, as though by cherishing an inveterate mistake, they could conquer truth itself.

One practiser on credulity was vile enough to affirm, that he saw the king surrounded; and to obviate all doubt in the auditors, he assured them, that the wound which he showed, he had received in the same action. The eagerness with which the ears of the common people of Greece drank this untruth, and the warmth and confidence with which it was circulated, occasioned great disasters to the city of Thebes. For part of those citizens whom Philip had banished, being elated by it, conspired, under the orders of Phœnice and Prothytes, basely to murder the Macedonian officers attached to the garrison of the Cadmea: Amyntas and Timolaus*, the commanders, in the midst of a walk which they were taking, at a distance from the citadel, unsuspicious of treachery, were suddenly dispatched. The inhabitants of Thebes concurring with unfortunate alacrity in this ill-timed effort to deliver their country, blockaded

* Gillies's Greece, chap. xxxvii.

the garrison; surrounding it with a double rampart and a moat, to exclude provisions or reinforcements.

Having effected this, the Thebans expedited ambassadors to all the Grecian states, entreating assistance to recover that liberty of which they had been so unworthily deprived. At Athens,—Demosthenes, from rooted abhorrence of Macedonian ascendency, moved his fellow-citizens to send speedy succours to Thebes:—these were not, however, sent, because the Athenians were so intimidated by the unexpected return of Alexander, that they deemed it prudent, first, to observe which way fortune inclined. Meanwhile, Demosthenes assisted the Thebans from his private funds, and transmitted them a great supply of arms: those capable of military service, whom Philip had deprived of arms, being thus equipped, closely pressed the Macedonian garrison in the Cadmea.

A strong body of Peloponnesians soon collected at the Isthmus: to these Antipater dispatched messengers, cautioning them not to infringe the decree of united Greece, by entertaining overtures from Alexander's declared enemies: they, however, gave audience to the Theban ambassadors. The mass of the Peloponnesian soldiers sympathized in the feelings, and adopted the resolutions, of the revolted

state:—while Astylus, their leader, an Arcadian by extraction, had recourse to ambiguity and delay, not so much from any apprehended difficulty in the undertaking, as from the impulse of the most sordid avarice; calculating, from the urgent necessities of the Thebans, to wring the greater price for his assistance. He demanded ten talents, a sum which the Thebans could not immediately make up; the Macedonian party brought him that sum, and he remained inactive. Thus was rendered abortive the expectation of aid from the Arcadians. Demosthenes, however, by an opportune donative to another body of Peloponnesians, prevented them from marching against the Thebans. Demosthenes is represented to have received three hundred talents from the Persians, to be disbursed in a manner calculated to undermine the plans, and embarrass the proceedings of Alexander.

As soon as intelligence of these transactions could reach the king, he marched from Pellion with unremitting rapidity through Eordæa and Elymiotis; and having passed the rocks Strymphæa and Paryæa, on the seventh day arrived at Pellenæ, a town in Thessaly. In six days more he had penetrated to Bœotia; whence he immediately stretched to Onchestus, distant about six miles from Thebes. Mean-

while, entirely ignorant of the motions of Alexander, the Thebans acted with hardihood rather than wisdom. They did not KNOW that the Macedonian army had yet passed the Pylæ; and with regard to the king's arrival in person, they treated it as altogether incredible; seriously asserting it to be a different Alexander, a descendant of Æropus, that now commanded the army.

The king, having encamped near the temple of Iölaus, before the gate Prœtis, had the moderation to allow the Thebans an interval to repent. They, instead of negociating, made a sally against the outposts of the Macedonians, killing some, and dislodging the rest of the centinels: they now closely approached the camp, when the king ordered the light-armed troops to drive them back. On the following day, Alexander advanced his army to the gate leading towards Attica, to be at hand to assist his garrison shut-up in the citadel: here awaiting the last resolution of the Thebans, he intimated his willingness to pardon them, if they had become repentant. Those citizens, however, who avowed pacific intentions, being outvoted, were obliged to yield to the counsels and influence of the reinstated exiles, and of the party which had recalled the exiles; for both these, sensible that there would remain to them no hopes of safety, if the Macedonians should

become masters of the town, chose rather to be entombed in the ruins of their country, than to purchase its safety by their own immolation; and this faction had drawn several chiefs of Bœotian cities into their desperate confederacy.

Their consummate phrenzy appeared in this circumstance: — Upon Alexander's requiring them to deliver up to him the authors of the rebellion, on his assurance, that two heads should expiate the crime of the whole city, they had the audacity to demand, on their part, that Alexander should surrender to them Philotas and Antipater, his two chief favourites; at the same time, by a herald they made proclamation, 'That if any were willing to join the Great 'King*, and the Thebans, in a league against 'the Tyrant, to recover the liberty of Greece, 'they might assemble in the city of Thebes 'with security.'

According to Ptolemy's original narrative, which is contradicted by some compilations, Alexander still refrained from giving orders to storm the town: but Perdiccas—who commanded in that part of the camp facing the works which the Thebans had raised to blockade the Cadmea—without waiting for a signal from Alexander, fell furiously upon the The-

* This title is given by all the Greek authors to the king of Persia.

bans; and, forcing their outward wall and entrenchment, came to a close engagement with them: induced by his example, Amyntas, the son of Andromenes*, whose quarters were adjoining, charged the enemy with his brigade in the same bold manner. Now concerned for the safety of his men, who had rushed precipitately within the Theban works, Alexander approached with the main-body of his army; he took a position with the phalanx before the trenches, while the light-armed troops, by his orders, broke through to support their companions.

The conflict was obstinate; and Perdiccas being severely wounded in an effort to force the inward entrenchment, was carried from the place of action: a great part of the Cretan archers, with their leader, Eurybotas, were destroyed. The Thebans pressed hard upon the Macedonians, who, deserted by their intrepidity, were flying back to Alexander, pursued by those whom they had attacked. But, at hand stood the king,—with the phalanx prepared in order of battle: he fell upon the enemy, disordered and scattered by the haste with which they had rushed from under cover of their works, and totally routed them.

This reverse plunged the Thebans into such

* Arrian, lib. i. 3, 13.

consternation, that they had not presence of mind to shut the gate through which they retreated into the town: while part of Alexander's army took advantage of that fatal error, the garrison of the Cadmea sallied into the streets adjoining the citadel. Thus was the noblest city in Greece, in one day, attacked and carried. Every variety of cruelty was inflicted upon this hapless community; men and women were piled in promiscuous slaughter.

The infamy of this barbarity is chiefly due to the Phocians, the Platæans, the Orchomenii, and the Thespians, who, as natives of the surrounding cities, had long regarded the superior power, opulence, and prosperity of Thebes, with impotent, unpatriotic jealousy; with morbid, inveterate hatred. The Macedonians tempered vengeance by the laws of war.

When at length the king's proclamation arrested the slaughter, there had already perished six thousand men; the surviving Thebans were made prisoners. Of the number sold as slaves, thirty thousand had belonged to the class of free citizens. According to Clitarchus, the whole booty amounted to four hundred and forty talents: others rate the produce from the sales of the captives at that sum. The Thessalians owed the Thebans a hundred talents, from which the king released the debtors, as his allies.

Alexander exempted, from the general captivity to which the Thebans were doomed—the ministers of the temples; those families by whom he, or his father, had been entertained, when resident in Thebes; and a few of the magistrates and citizens who were known to have been averse from the war. The victor also pardoned the posterity of Pindar*, out of veneration to that poet, who in his odes had celebrated king Alexander, a paternal ancestor about five removes in the direct line from the present king of Macedon; and the house which the poet had inhabited he preserved, by a particular injunction, from being fired by his licentious soldiers. For Alexander not only cherished contemporary virtue, but highly revered the memory of the departed great and good, heaping favours on their descendants. Thus, after he had gained the last victory over Darius, he transmitted a share of the booty to the Crotoniates; rewarding them, on the testimony of history, because in the invasion of Xerxes, when all the other Greek colonies despaired of Greece, they had sent one galley to Salamis, under the command of Phayllus. He likewise diffused a generous shower of gifts and honours on the Platæans, because their ancestors had bestowed their territory on those Greeks who fought against Mardonius.

* Freins. transposit.

Timoclea and her kindred must be added to the inhabitants of Thebes who received their liberty from the conqueror. This reward, and a reputation which still lives with unfading lustre, this heroine obtained by fortitude under the following circumstances. A Thracian captain of cavalry in Alexander's service, after having violated the person of Timoclea, ordered her with menaces to disclose where she had hidden her most valuable effects. More afflicted at the loss of her honour, than anxious to preserve her riches; this lady, pointing to a well, pretended to have there secured her jewels and treasures: he bent over its mouth with impatient and prying avarice; she loosened his footing and precipitated him to the bottom, whence he made fruitless struggles to climb, she casting stones upon him till she had killed him. His troop soon afterwards seized her, and carried her before Alexander. Hearing her name, the king inquired from her her quality, and whether she had committed the offence alleged: with firm countenance and voice, she replied: "I am the "sister of that Theagenes who lost his life for "the liberty of Greece. Your officer I killed "to revenge a degrading outrage, and to vin- "dicate my unconsenting spirit. Do you doom "me to death by way of atonement? Know, "that to a virtuous woman nothing is so des- "picable as life, after such a violation: let me,

" then, perish as soon as you please; I shall die " too late, since I have survived my reputation " and the independence of my country." Alexander declared, that the Thracian had been deservedly killed, and that he would protect the free-born women of Thebes from similar outrages. With strong expressions to Timoclea of esteem and approbation, he restored liberty to her and to her kindred, and gave them the privilege of departing to reside wherever they pleased.

CHAP. XIV.

Supernatural presages of the fate of Thebes. Demolition of its buildings, and division of its territory. Antiquity of Thebes. Alexander preserves the temples and publick statues. Alexander alleged to have repented of the destruction of Thebes. Notice that Cassander, when he had rebuilt it, could not restore its greatness. Alexander demands the Athenian orators: sketch of affronts which had been offered to him. He listens to submissive overtures from the Grecian states. Becomes a citizen of Megara. Distrusts Sparta.

THE destruction of Thebes was preceded by several prodigies. In the temple of Ceres, worshipped under the name of Thesmophoros, hung

a cobweb which was supposed to afford indications to diviners: three months before Alexander began the siege of Thebes, this web alarmed the superstitious by changing its hue to deep black; for it was remembered that during an interval approaching the battle of Leuctra, which elevated Thebes to the summit of glory and prosperity, its colour had been pure white. Shortly before the arrival of the Macedonians, the statues in the forum were seen to sweat: distressing cries were emitted from the lake Onchestus: the streams of the fountain Dirce flowed with blood. These ominous denunciations might have alarmed these obstinate people, if pride had not predestined them to ruin. For looking fondly on the glory of their ancestors, whose manners they had forsaken, and whose talents had not descended to them, they expected to rival them in success: precipitating the subversion of Thebes, their temerity was so extreme, that with little more than ten thousand soldiers they felt no difficulty in defying an army of thirty thousand infantry and three thousand cavalry, all veterans familiar with victory.

Arbiter of the fate of Thebes, Alexander called a council of his allies, and referred it to them to consider how they should use the advantage. Among them were the Phocians, and

many of the minor Bœotian states, whose ancient discords with the Thebans had often brought upon themselves severe injuries; all which they now sought to retaliate at once. Blind and ungenerous enemies, they deemed that neither their revenge nor their safety would be complete, as long as Thebes should remain standing; their counsels were adopted: and the confederates decreed, that the walls and edifices of the place should be demolished; and that its territory should be apportioned among the conquerors, at the pleasure of the king. Thus one day tore out of the bosom of Greece this august city, which had given birth to heroes and to gods; and which, from the remote era pointed to by the *oracle of the ravens*, had subsisted eight hundred years, the splendid seat and flourishing inheritance of the same race. Many ages anterior to Alexander, the Bœotians, when expelled from their country by the Thracians and Pelasgi*; were told by the oracle, 'That after four centuries they should recover 'their paternal lands, and that it behoved them, 'in the meantime, to settle where they should 'see white ravens.' They migrated to Arne, a

* This appears to imply, that the *Pelasgi*, about whose origin there has been so much dissertation, without establishing any thing certain, were, in respect to Bœotia, foreigners as well as invaders, and at the same time, neighbours and allies of the Thracians.

town in Thessaly, at which place the fugitive families were induced to seat themselves, by seeing a brood of ravens encrusted with a white coating of *gypsum*, which some boys had put on in sport.

The buildings of Thebes were demolished to the sound of the flute, in the same manner as Athens had, sixty years before, been demolished by Lysander. The Macedonian conqueror, however, protected the temples and other sacred piles, enjoining to the workmen employed in the dilapidation of contiguous edifices, not to deface those; his natural veneration for the gods being stimulated by a recent example of terrible retribution inflicted on some soldiers, who, while pillaging the temple of the Cabiri, which stood before the town, were consumed by a sudden tempest of thunder and lightning. The statues erected in public stations to the gods, and to eminent men, were also left untouched; and it is recorded, that in the general consternation, when the city was taken and destroyed, some inhabitants had concealed pieces of gold in the drapery of those statues, in the folds of which they were found safe, when Cassander, Antipater's son, twenty years after, rebuilt the town.

Alexander afterwards repented of his excessive severity, when he reflected that, by the

destruction of Thebes, he had forced out one of the eyes of Greece*. He is represented to have regarded the death of Clitus,—and the contumacy of the Macedonians, who, after reaching the Hypasis, ingloriously refused to penetrate to the interior of India,—as vindictive strokes of Bacchus on himself individually, for having blotted out the place of that deity's birth from the honoured class of independent cities. And some writers have ascribed the king's death, which happened after an excess in wine, to the resentment of Bacchus.

Cassander, in rebuilding Thebes†, is considered to have acted not so much from compassion to the exiles, as from animosity to the memory of Alexander, and a design to detract from his glory. But though he restored, in their former extensive circuit, the walls of the place,—yet he in vain invited back its ancient manners: its primitive strength and prosperity never returned: the subject of calamity, and the seat of decay, it has lingered in existence to our days, but is now almost too inconsiderable to be called a town.

These transactions finished,—Alexander despatched a message to the Athenians, announcing, 'That they must immediately deliver into

* Freins. transposit. † Eodem.

'his power those orators who persisted in ex-
'citing a seditious opposition to him, and that
'if they betrayed any reluctance to part with
'their turbulent advisers, such contumacy
'would draw upon Athens, effects as much
'to be deplored as the recent disasters of The-
'bes.' And he demanded, by name, those orators who had displeased him. Upon this, Phocion, to whom, on account of his exemplary probity, the Athenians paid great deference, suggested, in the popular assembly, that it were ineligible to persevere in irritating the young and victorious monarch; and he exhorted those individuals, over whom the danger hung, to imitate the daughters of Leus and Hyacinthus, nor hesitate to resign their lives for the good of their country. Demosthenes, who was one of their public men thus proposed to be immolated, now rose, and represented to the assembly, 'That the Athenians were seduced into a
'mistake, which would fatally affect them-
'selves, if they imagined, that by surrendering
'a select few, they could procure safety for the
'whole community; that the Macedonians had
'artfully included those persons in their pro-
'scription, whose vigilance and virtue they
'most feared; that the qualities which might
'be serviceable to the Athenians, were hateful
'to the enemy; that when they should have

'swept from their posts the champions of public liberty, the Macedonians would assail the defenceless and destitute city, as wolves rush upon sheep, when their guardian dogs are removed.'

Demosthenes had evinced inveterate antipathy to the power and name of Macedonia by so many acts, as well in an individual, as in a public character, that he concluded it to be now too late to offer terms to Alexander, or expect pardon. On Philip's death he had moved the Athenians to build a minor temple in honour of Pausanias; to thank the gods by sacrifices and libations on the public altars; and to make loud expressions, and a conspicuous display, of their joy. As a reason for this extravagant triumph, he descanted on the inferiority of Alexander to his father: sometimes terming him "the boy;" sometimes coupling with his name the more contemptuous epithet of *margites*, which, among the Greeks, was proverbially applied to a man insane or infatuated. Whether corrupted by the Persian gold, or proof against its influence, he had been the incendiary of almost all the wars which the Greeks had waged against Philip and his son. He had—quite recently—instigated Attalus, Alexander's implacable enemy, to arm a division of the Macedonians against their

king, by encouraging Attalus to expect the alliance of the Athenians.

The city of Athens, itself, had carried the practice of insult to extremity, by dashing from their pedestals Philip's statues, and converting the materials to the most opprobrious uses; the ignorant rabble, forgetful of the past, and regardless of the future, promptly acted all the indignities which a few who abused the influence of popularity designed. The last offence of the Athenians, and which highly incensed the successor of Philip, was their having entertained—in defiance of his edict—the Theban citizens, who escaped from the ruins of their country: The consideration and distinction with which these were treated, seemed to proceed less from humane sympathy for the fugitives, than from ostentatious opposition to the conqueror: The annual solemn mysteries, which the Athenians were accustomed to celebrate in honour of Bacchus, they omitted at this conjuncture, out of concern for the misfortunes of Thebes, or for the success of Alexander.

The king, whose mind was intensely turned to the expedition against Persia, was disposed to conciliation rather than vengeance. Wherefore, when Demades (who had received marks of favour from Philip) appeared as the bearer,

from the Athenians, of submissive propositions, accompanied with a copy of their decree for trying the orators accused *,—Alexander met their compromise by waving his denunciation against Demosthenes, Lycurgus, and other speakers, provided Charidemus was banished. Charidemus sought an asylum among the Persians. Many other considerable persons, who felt towards the king rooted animosity, yet feared his persecution, left the city and repaired to his enemies. These emigrations multiplied the obstacles to be encountered by the Macedonians in the invasion of Asia.

Shortly afterwards, Alexander reduced the Leucadians, who were elated to defiance by a confidence in the impregnable situation of their town, and in their store of provisions, which they conceived would outlast the longest siege: but the first operation of Alexander was to assail and take the forts lying round it,—permitting the citizens and soldiers, expelled from those places, to pass into Leucadia, where the inhabitants, thus augmented to a vast multitude, soon exhausted the magazines.

There now remained no state in Greece, which—when it reflected on the overthrow of the Thebans; (whose heavy-armed soldiers had

* Gillies's Greece, chap. xxxvii.

from the earliest times been held in high reputation;) or on the reduction of Leucadia—could continue to rely on its army or on its fortifications.

The impression that Alexander was irresistible, drew from the Peloponnesus several trains of ambassadors, to congratulate him on his having finished the war against the Barbarians, and on his having chastised the rash insolence of a portion of Greece. The Arcadians, who had been in motion, preparing to assist the Thebans, atoned to the conqueror, by declaring that they had sentenced to death the leaders in their extravagant proceedings. The Elei alleged, that, if they had recalled particular individuals from banishment, it was under a persuasion that those individuals were personally agreeable to Alexander. The Ætolians expressed their repentance, that they had been implicated in a ferment, which spread like a contagion over so great a part of Greece. The address of the Megareans had the pleasant effect of exciting smiles in the king and his attendants, by the new and questionable distinction which they proposed to confer on him; their deputies gravely announced, 'That his benevolent intentions and actual benefits to the Greeks, had induced the Megareans to decree him the freedom of their city.' This lost

much of its apparent absurdity, when they proceeded to state, that they had never granted that honour to any, except Hercules: and the king, with an air of satisfaction, consented to be enrolled a free citizen of Megara.

To the addresses from the rest, he replied, 'That he had nothing more at heart than the 'tranquillity and security of Greece; and that 'provided they refrained from sedition in fu-'ture, he readily forgave the past.'

He harboured a great distrust of the intentions of Sparta. As a check upon her, he, therefore, reinstated the sons of Philiades, on whom he could depend, in posts of command and authority in the capital of the neighbouring republic, Messenia, whence they had been expelled. Of Pelene, a town belonging to the Achæans, he promoted Chæron to be governor; and he placed individuals as completely devoted to him, over Sicyon and other cities, in order that they might penetrate the counsels, and give him information of the movements, of the principal Peloponnesian state.

A few months sufficed for the performance of such a number of things of magnitude: in that short space Alexander terminated a difficult and complex war, with more ease than another

would have prepared to enter upon it. His conquest he attributed to celerity in execution: to an inquirer respecting the means by which he had subdued Greece, he answered; " by de-" laying nothing."

QUINTUS CURTIUS.

SUPPLEMENT.

BOOK II.

THE BATTLE OF THE GRANICUS. THE SIEGES OF MILETUS AND HALICARNASSUS.

CHAP. I.

Sketch of the Persian dynasty, ascending from Darius to Cyrus. Terror of the Persians under the impending expedition of Philip succeeded by momentary contempt for Alexander. Now awed by his distant victories, they prepare measures of defence, and hire fifty thousand Greeks. Description of mount Ida. Operations of Memnon, Parmenio, and Calas.

AT this time the sceptre of the Persian empire was wielded by Darius Codomannus, who had obtained it by the influence of Bagoas, an Egyptian eunuch, a short time previously to the death of Philip. The same Bagoas, a courtier and

minister as perfidious and atrocious as ever abused the confidence of a sovereign, had successively poisoned the two preceding kings, Ochus and his youngest son Arses, whom he had elevated to sovereign power as he since raised Codomannus; and the traitor made a merit of transferring the crown to princes to whom the hope of completely directing them was his only attachment. At the same time, as the direct line from Artaxerxes Mnemon was entirely extinct, and as Darius Codomannus had sprung from a collateral branch of the family—being the son of Arsanes, whose father Ostanes was the uncle of Ochus—he was not considered by the people as reigning without a title. With the army he had an established character, from having killed, in the war of Ochus against the Cadusii, a fierce and powerful champion of the enemy, who had defied the bravest of the Persians to single combat. While a subject, he was called Codomannus, a name which, according to the Persian custom, he resigned when he stepped on the throne, assuming that of Darius. He was the twelfth* of the monarchs who

* Hic à conditore regni Cyro *decimus* imperio Persarum prefuit. FREINS.—The text is corrected by the assistance of several modern writers and chronologists, who have detected inaccuracies, and remedied omissions, in some of the ancient writers referred to as authorities by Freinshemius.

reigned from Cyrus, rejecting from the series the usurper, Smerdis *Magus*. Ochus, the tenth in order, was the son of Artaxerxes Mnemon, who was the son of Darius Nothus. This last-named Darius, and Sogdian, whom he dethroned and succeeded, and Xerxes II. whom Sogdian dethroned and succeeded, were all brothers. Their father, Artaxerxes Longimanus, the fifth legitimate possessor of the crown, was the son of Xerxes I. who was the son of Darius. The latter, whose father was Hystaspes, a Persian satrap, thus obtained the throne. Eight months after the death of Cambyses, the son of Cyrus, —it was discovered that the line of the founder of the empire was ended, and that the reigning Smerdis, (the *Magus*,) who personated a son of Cyrus, was an impostor. Darius and six Persian nobles, after they had destroyed the *Magus*, agreed that the throne, now entirely vacant, should be filled by one of themselves; and that, when they had assembled on the following morning, he whose horse first neighed should be saluted king; a mode of election which might be intended as an appeal to the influence of the sun. The artifice of the servant of Darius, by which he caused his master's horse to neigh in the moment of arriving at the appointed place, need not be related;

for the story is trite in Rome even with the grooms.

The execrable traitor, Bagoas, sometime after he had raised Darius, the contemporary of Alexander, to the throne, prepared to poison him *also:* but the Persian monarch discovered this last perfidy of Bagoas, and forced him to destroy his own life, by drinking the cup which he had offered to the king.

Under Cyrus and his successors the Persian affairs had flourished for a space of nearly two hundred and thirty years; advancing in a tenor of equable prosperity, while the body of the nation, unacquainted with voluptuous refinements, persevered in seeking wealth by useful labour, or fought gallantly for liberty and glory. In the course of time, when they had reaped, and after they had amassed a store of the fruits of virtue, they discontinued the cultivation of it, owing their safety less to their own bravery, than to the reputation which had devolved upon them through the vigor of their ancestors: in their declining state, they had procured long respites from invasion by the lavish distribution of money, a resource which had often succeeded against the Greeks when they could not rely upon their arms.

When, a short time previous to the present conjuncture, they had found that their gold was

ineffectually opposed to the politic and martial PHILIP*, and that on the obstruction and derangement of this piece of machinery, they had to depend upon their own efforts, so debauched were their minds, their resolution so unnerved by effeminate habits, that they could not support themselves under the first shock of declining fortune. Penury, though a rugged attendant, commonly stimulates ingenuity and effort: Luxury, the courtly parasite of affluence, frequently diffuses languor and imbecility over both body and mind. At the end of Philip's reign, his preparations, and his name, had agitated the Persians with terror: when the unworthy descendants of the conquerors of Babylon heard of Philip's sudden death, their alarm and awe were succeeded by contempt for Alexander's youth; they imagined that the new king would be satisfied, if he were suffered to walk up and down Pella unmolested. But receiving, day after day, intelligence of his campaigns and victories, they began to dread the juvenile commander whom they had despised; and accordingly, with extreme solicitude, made preparations to encounter a fierce and decisive, or

* As these reflections are not purely argumentative, but are interspersed with allusions to the history of the period, the writer deems it necessary to intimate, that he has not implicitly followed Freinshemius.

support a protracted war. Taught by experience in former struggles, that the Asiatic troops were inferior to the European, they dispersed over Greece agents commissioned to hire into the Persian service fifty thousand of the finest of the Grecian youth. Of this large body of mercenaries the command was entrusted to Memnon the Rhodian, whose approved fidelity and bravery recommended him to the Persian government. Memnon was ordered to make himself master of Cyzicus. Marching diligently thither through that part of Phrygia which adjoins the *Troad*, or the territory of ancient Troy, he came to mount Ida, a place distinguished in the writings of natural historians, and immortalized by the poets. Its *name* is derived from an agreeable feature in its scenery, for the ancients were accustomed to bestow the appellation *Ida* on any place richly planted with trees. This mountain pierces the clouds with a loftier summit than any other in the neighbourhood of the Hellespont. Midway up it, there is a cave, celebrated with religious veneration in the hymns of the Greeks; it is said to have been the sequestered haunt in which the Trojan arbiter of the beauty of the rival goddesses compared their unveiled charms; and to have been the birth-place of the Idean Dactyles, who, by the instruction of Cybele, or the Great Mother,

discovered the uses of iron,—as beneficial in the service of labour and art, as pernicious when the instrument of the hateful passions. The mountain is reported to be the seat of extraordinary phenomena: at the rise of the dog-star its base is ruffled by boisterous winds,—while on the summit the air is serene, and inspires serenity: A still more remarkable peculiarity is, that while night yet hovers over a great part of the earth, the sun is visible from mount Ida, not in the form of a globe, but greatly expanded, and apparently divided into distinct bodies of fire, embracing both sides of the mountain, till they meet in one on the eastern side, by the gradual reünion of the particles of light: at the approach of dawn its dimensions do not exceed an acre; and soon afterwards, having recovered, by gentle contractions, its accustomed size and figure, it proceeds on its appointed course. To venture my own opinion of this phenomenon, I attribute it to an optical delusion, of which, a local mass of air, condensed and rendered impellucid by the nocturnal cold, is the medium and the cause; and till the nebulous vapours are dissipated by a current of wind, or dissolved by a flood of heat, the image of the rising sun, seen through them, appears imperfect and dilated; for innumerable rays meeting with congealed obstructions in the aërial fluid, shoot in

new directions with augmented brightness, as reflected from a mirror: but as soon as the atmosphere, restored to a transparent state, allows the beams of day to be transmitted freely, the sun assumes his ordinary appearance.

The territory of Cyzicus reaches from the foot of mount Ida to the Propontis. The town is seated on an island of moderate extent, communicating with the continent by two bridges. These were thrown over the channel by Alexander, sometime after the expedition of Memnon: that general carried his mercenary Greeks over in ships. By his unexpected inroad he did not intimidate the Cyzicenians into submission; the inhabitants of the town made a vigorous defence: The Persian partisan was forced to retire; but he carried off a considerable booty from the surrounding country.

During the same interval the Macedonian generals were not inactive. Parmenio took Grynium, a town in Æolia, and consigned the inhabitants to slavery. Afterwards having passed over the Caicus, he besieged the strong and opulent Pitane: that city had two ports conveniently open to relief from Europe; and the seasonable arrival of Memnon to succour the place, obliged Parmenio to raise the siege.

Calas, with a small body of Macedonians, assisted by a considerable mercenary force, in-

vaded the Troad; where, in a rencounter with the Persians, he found his limited army unequal to a contest with their multitudes. He retired to Rhœtium.

CHAP. II.

Alexander convinces Antipater and Parmenio of the expediency of an immediate invasion of Persia. The preparations are completed. Public festivities.

IN the meantime, Alexander, who, on the settlement of the affairs of Greece, had returned to Macedon, was deliberating with his ministers respecting the arrangements and transactions necessary to be put in train, or matured, previously to entering upon so difficult a war. Antipater and Parmenio, whom talents and experience and consideration in the state qualified to be his leading advisers, urgently entreated, 'That he would forbear to expose the welfare 'of the empire, while that should continue to 'rest on the life of an individual, to the con-'tingencies of perfidious fortune.' They recommended, 'That he should, in the first place, 'marry, in order to raise heirs to his greatness,

'and that when this necessary foundation for 'the tranquillity and security of the country 'was laid, efforts to enlarge his dominions 'would be well-timed.'

There was not surviving any inheritor of Philip's blood, besides Alexander, that was worthy of the empire; Olympias had destroyed all Cleopatra's issue; and Aridæus, on account of the abject extraction of his mother, and the frailty of his intellect, was regarded as a person that would sully the splendour of the Macedonian throne. Alexander, however, impatient to distinguish himself, would entertain no proposals which were not directed to war, and the glory which results from victory: wherefore, he thus replied to the peaceable suggestions of his counsellors: "Like men of probity, "and patriots, you anxiously weigh the differ- "ent bearings of an enterprize, which may "greatly benefit or depress your country. It "cannot be denied, that the task which we are "undertaking is arduous; nor that, if we en- "gage in it rashly, and the event should be ad- "verse, a late repentance can afford no remedy. "For before we unfurl our sails to the wind, it "remains with us to deliberate whether we "will pursue fortune and our voyage, or re- "main in harbour; but when we have once "committed ourselves to the winds and waves,

" our success must depend on their fluctua-
" tions. I therefore have listened without dis-
" approbation to your opinion, though it is at
" variance with my decision: I commend your
" sincerity, and I entreat that you will, in our
" future subjects of debate, always use the same
" plainness. If there be any worthy of the title
" of the FRIENDS OF THE KING, they are those
" who in their advice do not so much consider
" how to procure his favour, as how to promote
" his interest and glory. The counsellor who
" recommends a course different from what he
" would take himself, does not assist to form a
" decision, but deludes.

" To unfold to you the reasons urging me
" to immediate action,—I am convinced that
" nothing will less conduce to promote the suc-
" cess of my arms, than delay. What! having
" chastised all the Barbarians round the fron-
" tiers of Macedonia, and having allayed the
" commotions and secured the alliance of
" Greece, shall we suffer a brave and victori-
" ous army to melt away in idleness? Shall we
" not rather lead our soldiers into the rich pro-
" vinces of Asia, possessions already seized by
" their desires and their hopes; with swift an-
" ticipation, they rifle Persia, as a reward for
" their long services and brilliant exploits under

" our father, and for their three years of toil and
" enterprize since.

" Darius, so recently seated on the Persian
" throne, has, by destroying Bagoas, by whom
" he was elevated to the sovereignty, excited
" in his people a suspicion of his being both
" cruel and ungrateful, vicious qualities which
" must generate, in the best subjects, aversion
" from their rulers, and render them indisposed
" to obedience, if not openly refractory. Shall
" we sit supine till he has established his au-
" thority, and having secured the internal peace
" of his kingdom, shall transfer the war into the
" heart of Macedon? The great advantages to
" be reaped by celerity, will, if we remain inac-
" tive, redound to the enemy.

" The first hold on the inclination of po-
" tentates who are third parties, is of great mo-
" ment in affairs of this nature; and *that* awaits
" the power who is active enough to seize it:
" for no state is backward to court the most
" formidable; but he will be reputed the most
" formidable who inflicts the blow of invasion,
" not he who receives it. Besides, how will
" our character be sullied, if we disappoint the
" hopes of the Greeks, who, notwithstanding
" our youth, have awarded us that honour,
" which that great commander, our father, en-

" circled by multiplied trophies, gained by ex-
" traordinary qualities, did not receive till a
" short time before his death! Nor did the
" council of the Amphictyons decree us the so-
" vereign command, in order that we might, in
" our palace at Pella, sink into indolence and
" pleasure, unmoved at the affronts formerly
" and recently offered to the Grecian name;
" but that we should severely revenge injuries
" perpetrated against us, in the height of Per-
" sian arrogance and wickedness. What shall
" I say of the Greek colonies, which, diffused
" over Asia, labour under a calamitous servi-
" tude imposed upon them by the licentious
" Barbarians? You, my friends, heard the en-
" treatics and arguments with which Dius* the
" Ephesian lately pleaded their cause. As soon
" as the Asiatic Greeks see our standard, they
" will rally round it, eagerly braving whatever
" danger may attend the enterprize of uniting
" with their champions and deliverers against
" the Persian tyrant and his satraps.

" But why, as if equally forgetful of the
" character of ourselves and of our enemies,
" should we look around for assistance in
" making war upon a people whom to conquer
" by degrees, and not at one decisive stroke,

* *Delius.* FREINS. *Dius.* OLIV. lib. xvi. p. 397.

" would reflect disgrace upon us rather than
" glory? In the preceding age, a small body of
" Lacædemonians advancing into Asia, found
" no effective opposition from the immense ar-
" mies of the enemy; the Persians either quiet-
" ly suffering Phrygia, Lydia, and Paphlagonia,
" to be overrun and plundered, or meeting,
" when they resisted, defeat and slaughter,
" even to the satiety of the invaders: till the
" recal of Agesilaus with his troops, on account
" of some commotions in Greece, gave to the
" trembling Asiatics, at a moment when they
" were too distracted to use their resources,
" time to recover from their consummate ter-
" ror. You know, that a few years before the
" Spartan expedition, ten thousand Greeks,
" without leaders, and without provisions,
" opened with the sword a passage into their
" own country, from the interior of the Per-
" sian empire, through a line of nations armed
" to annoy them, in addition to the whole army
" of Artaxerxes, which, when the Greeks com-
" menced their retreat, had surrounded them;
" and which, pursuing or intercepting them
" during a great proportion of their march,
" were defeated and put to flight as often as
" the Greeks were forced to engage. Shall we,
" then, who have vanquished the whole of
" Greece, who have disciplined it to our ser-

" vice by so many victories, who command " the bravest of her surviving soldiers in our " camps; shall we shrink from a war with " Asia, after having conquered the illustrious " nation of Greece, of which a province could " send out a force able to inflict on Asia such a " series of shameful defeats?"

These arguments of Alexander, interspersed with others to the same effect, so convinced his ministers and generals, that they were won decidedly to his opinion. Even Parmenio, who had been the strongest advocate for postponing, perceived the necessity of accelerating, the war, and exhorted Alexander not to tolerate any delay in the officers who were to conduct the preparations. The king's whole mind was now occupied by arrangements for invading Persia.

Having every thing matured, he, at Dium, a city of Macedonia, offered a splendid course of sacrifices to Jupiter Olympius, conforming in this solemnity to an institution of king Archelaus, who succeeded Perdiccas, the son of Alexander. In honour of the Muses, as the disposers of fame, the leader of the Greeks and Macedonians next exhibited theatrical spectacles, which continued nine days. He concluded these festivities by a magnificent banquet, to his friends, his generals, and the Hellenic deputies, given in a tent which contained a hundred couches: at

the same time, feasting his soldiers in a body, he ordered, with other viands, part of the victims offered in the sacrifices to be distributed among them, that this day, which was dedicated to enjoyment, might be gratefully marked by auspicious omens of the approaching war.

CHAP. III.

Force of the army which Alexander conducted into Asia: and of that which he left with Antipater in Macedon. He distributes his riches among his friends. State of the public treasury. Course of the fleet and army from the lake Cercinites to Sestos. The king detaches Parmenio to Abydos; visits Eleus; sails to Sigeum.

AT the commencement of the spring, Alexander passed with his collected forces into Asia. His army was formidable by its discipline and valour, rather than by its numbers. The advanced guard, under Cassander, consisted of nine hundred Thracians and Pæonians*. The main body, which was commanded by Parmenio, consisted of thirty thousand infantry;

* Freins. transposit.

of whom thirteen thousand were Macedonians; twelve thousand, confederated Greeks; and five thousand, mercenaries. In the rear of the regular infantry, followed five thousand Illyrians, Thracians, and Triballi; with one thousand Agrian archers. The whole cavalry attached to the army amounted to four thousand two hundred: comprising one thousand eight hundred Macedonians, led by Philotas; as many Thessalians, under the orders of Calas; and six hundred confederated Greeks, over whom the king had placed Erigyus.

With this army, transporting with it provision only for thirty days, Alexander hesitated not to march against an infinite number of Barbarians; relying on the martial character of his men, veterans long familiar with conquest, possessing that vigor, courage, attention to their commanders, and superior management of their weapons, which rendered them more than a counterpoise to any armed multitude, however numerous.

To Antipater, with whom the king left twelve thousand infantry and fifteen hundred cavalry, he entrusted the government of Macedon, and the management of Greece; and he enjoined his lieutenant to let the levy of recruits in Europe be constantly proceeding, in order to sustain the numerical strength of the

foreign and domestic army, against the attenuations of battle and the waste of mortality.

Before he had embarked his forces, Alexander distributed among his immediate friends the property which belonged to him as an individual; without retaining any possession or resource which he could alienate without injury to the regal dignity or the public service. Perdiccas declined accepting a princely gift of land, begging Alexander to inform him, 'What he 'would have left for himself?' The king answered: "Hopes." Perdiccas rejoined: "We shall "be satisfied to partake of *them*, fighting under "your auspices." A small number of commanders imitated the example of Perdiccas; it did not influence the majority. Afterwards, Alexander was asked: "Where, O king! have "you any treasures?" He replied: "In the "hands of my friends." When it is considered, that he was staking empire and existence upon one cast of fortune's die,—without attributing to him selfish motives, he may be justified to the selfish, as not having absurdly disposed of his riches; for, by victory, he would acquire treasures incomparably greater;—defeat would force him to resign what he had, less gracefully; meanwhile, he had engaged the cheerful attachment of his officers: nor could

any immediate inconvenience attend the gift of farms and estates from which no revenue would be remitted till a remote day.

The money belonging to the state the king set-apart for the service of the war, and he dispensed it with economy proportioned to the smallness of the store. When Philip died, the treasures in the publick coffers scarcely amounted to sixty talents of coined money, with a few vases of silver and gold: whereas the debts due from the government were nearly five hundred talents. Notwithstanding the late king had greatly augmented the revenue of Macedon, and so improved the mines at Philippi*, that they yielded annually a thousand talents; yet from the draining effect of successive wars, the magnificent presents which it was a branch of his policy to make, and the expensive works and edifices which he repaired, restored, or founded, he left the publick treasury quite exhausted. The anecdote of the cup† forcibly illustrates how very trivial were the funds which Philip had inherited: yet his son—after having augmented the public debt by taking up on loan eight hundred talents, of which scarcely a tenth part remained undisbursed—now challenges and provokes to the field the whole force

* Ante, p. 43. † Ante, p. 42.

of the king of Persia, who had five thousand talents of gold as for a pillow, and three thousand talents of silver as for a footstool, deposited in cabinets under the head and foot of his bed. Of the Persian empire, the revenue paid in money was estimated at fourteen thousand five hundred and sixty Eubœic talents; [£3,276,000;] the taxes paid in kind cannot now be estimated †.

Alexander's navy and transports lay in the lake Cercinites, so named from the neighbouring mountain. While the line of march to Persia being crossed by the sea, made it indispensable —the maritime cities to be besieged, made it eligible—to have a fleet attendant on the invading army; besides, at several places on the way to the Hellespont circuitous marches might

Justin, lib. xiii. 1.

† Converted into money, or consumed as they were delivered, the contributions from different districts were charged to supply particular branches of expenditure. Thus, was furnished the king's wardrobe, the furniture of his palaces, and viands for the court and household. Passages in Cicero [in Verrem, 3 B. c. 23.] and Plato [Alcib. 1. P. 123.] show plainly, that the kings of Persia were accustomed to give particular cities to their queens to find them in girdles; others, to find them in necklaces; others, in shoes. From every author who has treated of the affairs of Persia, it further appears, that the monarch assigned to individuals whom he was desirous to honour, particular cities to find them in bread—, wine—, meat—, fish—. In this manner Artaxerxes entertained and distinguished Themistocles, as we learn from Plutarch and Thucydides.

be avoided by embarking the troops on a short passage.

Alexander set sail from the lake Cercinites, with a band of flutes playing, led by Timotheus; his troops expressing the highest ardour, confident of seizing the riches of the Barbarians. In this manner the king was wafted across the lake, and down the Strymon. After touching at Amphipolis, he proceeded to the mouth of the river. Having debarked on the eastern bank, he passed on the side of Mount Pangæus, and entered the road which leads to Abdera and Maronea. The Macedonian leader marched close to the winding shore, to be at hand to assist his fleet, which sailed a parallel course, should the enemy attack it. The Persian king possessed or directed a powerful navy, including ships from Cyprus and Phœnicia, manned with expert rowers and seasoned mariners. Macedon, having but lately become a naval power, did not abound with ships; and the allies had furnished vessels scantily and reluctantly. Even the Athenians, when applied to for their quota of gallies, sent but twenty triremes; their orators dissuading them from entrusting a great proportion of their navy with Alexander, lest it should be directed against themselves.

From Maronea the king marched to the river Hebrus; having crossed to its eastern bank without much difficulty, he advanced to Pætica,

a province of Thrace. Thence having proceeded over the river Melas, he on the twentieth day reached Sestos, a town of the Chersonesus, at the extremity of continental Europe, and overlooking the Hellespont.

Here, the coast of Thrace nearly touches Asia as it does towards the south-east at the Thracian Bosphorus. The Propontis, compressed at each end, greatly expands near the coast of Bithynia. Below Bithynia lie Phrygia and Mysia; adjoining those, but more remote from the Propontis and slightly distant from the Ægean, is ancient Lydia. The interior regions of Asia Minor,—extensive, and celebrated for fertile vales and opulent cities,—are inhabited by various nations. The western coast at the upper part facing Thrace, is possessed by the Hellespontians; contiguous is the ruined seat of the Trojans, universally known by their misfortunes. Beneath these, Æolis and Ionia occupy, on one side, a long meandering line of shore; and are bounded, on the other, by Lydia. More southward are the countries of Caria and Doris, of which the inland tracts are extensive, notwithstanding both countries, with their peninsular arms, are nearly embraced by the sea. Westward, are the noble islands, Æolic Lesbos, Ionian Chios and Samos, and Doric Rhodus, with several others celebrated

in history and song. The Greek colonies on this coast still subsist, though even in Alexander's time they had lost their ancient liberty, having become subject to Persia.

From Sestos the Macedonian leader detached the greater part of his army to Abydos on the opposite shore, under the conduct of Parmenio; assigning to him one hundred and sixty gallies, and several transports. The king proceeded with the remainder of the troops to Eleus, at which place, concealed under a *barrow*, was the tomb dedicated to Protesilaus, buried there during the Trojan war. The tumulus was encircled by a grove of elms, celebrated, in the heroics of Philostratus, for two astonishing deviations from the laws of vegetation: On those branches which grow towards Ilium, new leaves spring every morning, and immediately fall off; while the opposite arms of the tree are clothed with ever-green foliage: the leaves prematurely deciduous are imagined to be emblematic of the fate of the hero, who, in the Dardanian expedition of the Greeks, fell, in the flower of his age, the first victim of that war. Alexander offered sacrifices for the dead: and implored heaven to grant him better fortune when he should land on the hostile shore. From Eleus he sailed to Sigeum, a haven famous by having sheltered the fleet of Agamemnon.

In the middle of the Hellespont, Alexander, who acted as pilot of his own ship, sacrificed a bull to Neptune and the Nereids; the golden cup from which he had poured the libation he cast into the sea, as an offering to the marine deities. When the fleet had entered the harbour, the king threw a lance upon the shore, and, leaping from the ship, was the first that landed; declaring, 'That he pro-'posed, with the assistance of the gods in a 'just war, to become sovereign of Asia.' He afterwards erected altars to Jupiter, Minerva, and Hercules, at the place of his descent; and he caused similar memorials to be built in Europe on the point of coast whence he had last sailed.

CHAP. IV.

Deportment of Alexander in the Troad. Description of his arms. Junction with Parmenio at Arisbe. March of the army to the Lampsacenian territory. Deliberations of the Persian generals. Arrogance of the Persian king.

ALEXANDER now proceeded to the level country, and surveyed the site of ancient Troy. While he was contemplating some heroic monuments, one of the inhabitants pro-

mised him the harp of Paris: he replied: "I do "not prize that sordid instrument of effeminate "strains, but I should eagerly seize the lyre "on which Achilles struck the praises of "illustrious heroes, with the hand which "surpassed their achievements." Alexander felt it as a trait of glory to be a descendant of Achilles. He visited the tumulus which contains his ashes; the *stêlé* upon it he anointed with perfumes, and adorned with a crown; and with his friends, ran naked around it, according to the Grecian custom of honouring the manes of a hero *. Hephæstion placed a crown upon the tomb of Patroclus, intimating that he held the same rank in the friendship of Alexander, as Patroclus held in that of Achilles. Among many expressions inspired by the scene, the king said: "I regard Achilles "as doubly happy; because, living, he found "a faithful friend; and, when dead, a poet "who has immortalized his actions." To the other Hellenic heroes, whose sepulchres on the Dardanian territory are still pointed out to the traveller, Alexander solemnized funeral obsequies. He offered a sacrifice to Priam, on the altar of Hercius, either to appease the manes of the venerable king, in slaying whom Neoptolemus had violated the sanctity of an

* Diod. Sic. lib. xvii

altar; or, to blazon the affinity contracted between his ancestry and the line of Ilium, by the marriage of Neoptolemus with Hector's widow.

Alexander had a most religious veneration for Minerva; and the scenery might remind him, that the destruction of Troy had not been effected till the palladium was removed. After sacrificing with devotion in her temple, he there deposited his arms; taking, in exchange, arms which had hung there from the time of the Trojan war. These he caused to be borne before him, as though he had received them, by the favour of the goddess, to conquer Asia; and he is represented to have actually worn them at the battle of the Granicus. On *other* occasions, he delighted in costly armour; in nothing more studious of elegance. His ordinary buckler was splendid. His helmet, the workmanship of Theophilus, was of iron, but so polished that it shone like the brightest silver: of its lofty, graceful crest, the nodding plumes were remarkable for their snowy whiteness. His corslet was formed of double layers of linen, strongly quilted: a gorget of iron, enriched with sparkling gems, connected this with the helmet. From a superb belt, on which the incomparable Helicon had exerted all his art, hung a sword famed both for edge and temper, and what augmented its value

was, that with so much strength in the steel, it was light, and easy to wield. Under the breast-plate, he sometimes wore a short military coat of the Sicilian fashion, girt close about him. Of these arms several articles came into his possession after the time which the narrative has reached, as presents or trophies: the corslet was found among the spoils at the battle of Issus: the sword was a gift from the king of the Citici, a people of Cyprus*: the Rhodians contributed the belt. I am not ashamed to repeat particulars of this sort which ancient authors thought worth recording; — there can scarcely be any thing, in the sayings, the manners, or the actions, of illustrious men, so minute, as not to amuse, or instruct, or excite useful reflection. The arms of Alexander have been objects of veneration in succeeding ages; and Time, the general destroyer, long spared them, as from respect. One of our commanders, after the conquest of the Pontic provinces, wore Alexander's military coat at a triumphal procession in Rome. Another Roman general, habited in the corslet of the Macedonian victor, traversed the bridge, which, in imitation of Darius and Xerxes, he had built over the sea.

* According to Plutarch, it was with the sword presented by the king of Citium that Alexander triumphed over Darius.

From the temple of Minerva, Alexander marched to Arisbe, where the Macedonians under Parmenio were encamped.

On the following day, he passed the towns Percote and Lampsacus, and arrived on the banks of the Practius, which rising in the Idean mountains, flows through the territories of Lampsacus and Abydos, and, winding northward, empties itself into the Propontis. Thence, leaving Hermotus on one side, he marched to Colonæ, a town seated in the heart of the Lampsacenian territory. Having received all those places into his protection, and pardoned the inhabitants of Lampsacus *, he sent Panegorus to accept the surrender of the city of the Priapeni.

Alexander detached Amyntas, the son of Arrabæus, with four troops, (one consisting of Apolloniates under the command of Socrates,) to advance and observe the enemy.

The enemy were manœuvering in a position not greatly distant; and were preparing with solicitude to meet the approaching war: but the question, Whether the attack should be repelled by force, or eluded by policy, distracted their counsels. Memnon, by far the most skilful of their generals, recommended a course not unlike that

* Ante, p. 34.

since taken by our own Fabius: "Let us de-
"stroy every thing, in every direction, that
"can be of any use to the enemy, and retire
"farther into the country; let us trample on,
"and waste the grass with our cavalry; let us
"burn the villages and towns, and leave in our
"rear a naked desert. The Macedonians, who
"have brought scarcely a month's provision,
"confide on living by plunder: now if their
"subsistence by that means be prevented, they
"must, after a short interval, retreat; and the
"whole of Asia will be saved at a comparatively
"small expense. It is true the necessity for
"this partial sacrifice is to be deplored: but on
"all occasions where danger pregnant with to-
"tal destruction is impending, the wise cheer-
"fully deliver themselves from the tremendous
"risk by submitting to a small loss. Thus if
"a limb of the human body be seized with a
"morbid inflammation, which, spreading, would
"destroy the whole frame, physicians amputate
"the limb to preserve the body. And we are
"encouraged to do this by a successful prece-
"dent; for Darius formerly caused these pro-
"vinces to be devastated, lest the Scythians
"should effect a passage through them. A
"battle with the Macedonians, at this time,
"will expose the whole empire to hazard:

" should we be defeated, Alexander will gain " this entire region, and a road to the interior " provinces; should victory attend the Persian " arms, we shall remain merely as we are, we " shall reap nothing. There is cause to appre- " hend, that the infantry already with us, is of " that description, that though much more nu- " merous, it will not be able to resist the Ma- " cedonian phalanx. Besides, the presence of " Darius, if we wait for it, will contribute, in " no slight degree, to victory, since the soldi- " ers, conscious that their monarch is fighting " with them, and surveying their actions, will " feel at once the stimulations of hope, shame, " and the desire of glory; advantages which " the Macedonians at this moment possess. " Besides, no one can doubt that it is eligible " to carry the war into the enemy's territory, " rather than suffer our own country to be the " seat of conflict. Now, if we retreat in the " manner which I have proposed,—the enemy, " unable to pursue, will leave us leisure to plan " the invasion of Macedon."

These views of Memnon the other Persian generals scarcely examined. They abruptly terminated the deliberations, concurring in remarks to this effect: 'That to create a little delay by 'waste and destruction might answer the pur-

'pose of Memnon, the *Rhodian**, who would 'derive a benefit from protracting the war, the 'benefit of enjoying his offices and emoluments 'proportionally longer: but that it would be 'an indelible disgrace to Persian governors to 'betray the people who had been confided to 'their protection: nor could they justify such 'conduct to the king, whose instructions to 'them prescribed far different operations in 'prosecuting the war.' Indeed Darius, on being informed of Alexander's departure from Macedon, had, in the dispatches to his satraps, commanded them: "To impress on the mind "of that rash boy of Philip's a due sense of his "years and station, by flogging him: then to "send him to Darius habited in purple and "bound in chains: to sink all his ships with "their crews: and to drive his soldiers to ba-"nishment on the remote borders of the Red "Sea." So confident of the future did the illusions of unbounded pride make the Persian monarch. Ignorant of his destiny, no longer feeling that he shared in human weakness, he pretended to have affinity with the gods. The last illusion sprung rather from the near ap-

* We cannot suppose that the *uncourtly* parts of these animadversions were urged in open council; but were suspicions against the motives of Memnon, which the jealous princes whispered to each other.

proach which he seemed to make to them in power, than from any reliance on the ancient fable which derived the name of Persia, and the lineage of its kings, from Perseus the son of Jupiter.

Not long previously, Darius had addressed to the Athenians letters in a style equally arrogant, with this insulting conclusion, 'That 'since they had preferred the friendship of the 'Macedonian to his, they must not, for the fu- 'ture, apply to him for gold; for however they 'should beg, he would send them none.'

CHAP. V.

Alexander spares the estate of Memnon. Alters the name of a month. Stoops to practise on the superstition of his soldiers. The battle of the Granicus. Deportment of the king after the victory. Dedicates part of the spoil in Minerva's temple at Athens.

HAVING prosecuted his march, Alexander now touched the hither boundary of that tract of land which the king of Persia had bestowed on Memnon: but before he passed this demesne, he, in general orders, enjoined the Macedonian captains and army, neither to injure the tenants

of Memnon, nor the produce of the soil; an artifice by which he designed either to render suspected the most active of the enemy's generals, and the only officer among them whom he did not despise, or to draw him over to his interest. This forbearance of Alexander astonished some of his attendants, who felt no scruple to urge, that as Memnon was the most inveterate as well as the ablest antagonist of the Macedonians, it behoved them to execute him, if he should fall into their hands, and that in the meantime they ought to spoil and destroy whatever belonged to him. "Rather," replies their leader, more politic, if not more humane, "let "us win him by good offices, from an enemy "converting him to a friend; he will then "exert his courage and talents to serve us."

In ordinary cases, the Macedonian phalanx, which had sixteen ranks, marched from its flank, which made the front of the column sixteen files wide. Having reached the Adrastean plains, it now marched from its flank in double columns, with an interstice between them; the cavalry on the wings; the waggons and baggage in the rear. Scouts had before brought intelligence, that the enemy intended to make a stand on the Granicus; and now the advanced guard, consisting of horsemen armed with pikes,

and five hundred light infantry*, who had been detached to examine the fords, and observe the enemy, returned with intelligence, that the Persians occupied an advantageous position on the other side of the Granicus, and were in order of battle, waiting to receive the invaders. The king halted, and called a council of war on the propriety of leading the army over to attack the enemy. A majority of his generals represented, 'That it was a rash attempt, 'and an impracticable thing, to stem the cur-'rent of that deep river in the presence of 'twenty thousand horse and innumerable foot 'guarding the opposite lofty bank, naturally 'difficult of access.' Other individuals diffused and countenanced timidity, by suggesting, 'That it was then the month of Desius†, which, 'it might be recollected, had always been 'unfortunate to the Macedonians.' Alexander, though he could not perceive the danger, forbore to outrage the superstition, which had raised among his followers so many advocates of delay; convinced that superstition has a sovereign influence over weak minds. He, therefore, by an edict, expunged Desius from the Macedonian tables of time, substituting a repetition of the name of the preceding month,

* Gillies's *Greece*, chap. xxxvii. † Corresponding to June.

with an explanatory ordinal, *Artemisius the second.* And to restore the confidence of those who had been alarmed, he covertly instructed Aristander, whose office it was to sacrifice for a prosperous passage, to write, with a chemical colour, a fortunate sentence on the palm of the hand, which receives the entrails; inverting the characters, that, dissolved by the warm liver, they might be imprinted on its surface in the proper order. By this coarse artifice, unworthy of the king, the detection of which might have disconcerted him for ever, was obtained the answer: "The gods give the victory to Alex-"ander." This supposed miracle being circulated through the camp, the soldiers unanimously burst into loud acclamations: "After "such a proof of the celestial favour, what can "we fear?" Considering themselves predestined to conquer, they felt themselves adequate to take success by storm.

Availing himself of the impetuous ardour of their minds, the king determined immediately to lead them over, notwithstanding Parmenio advised and entreated him to defer it, at least till the morning, as great part of the day was consumed: but Alexander said to his cautious general, in a style of raillery: "The Hellespont "will blush, if, after passing that, we want so "much preparation to cross a brook."

The leader of the Greeks and Macedonians sprung on his horse. Under his dispositions, the whole army opened, and spread along the bank of the river in order of battle: the phalanx, essentially the main-body, divided into eight sections, stood in the centre; the Macedonian cavalry formed the right wing; the Grecian, the left. Alexander assumed in person the command of the right wing, confiding the left and centre to Parmenio. Either he considered that the breadth of the river would render his military engines, the balistas and catapults*, unavailing, or he disdained to employ them, in the hope of soon closing with the enemy.

Olymp. cxi. 3. *A. C.* 334. *Ætat. Alex.* 22.

Alexander has now completed his orders; the two armies behold each other in portentous silence; this solemn pause is interrupted by the Macedonian trumpets resounding throughout the line. On this signal, Ptolemy, the son of Philip by Arsinoe, began to ford the river, at the head of a squadron of *Cataphracts*†, followed by two bodies of light dragoons, and a battalion of infantry commanded by Amyntas.

* See, ante, p. 138.

† Cavalry completely covered with defensive armour. *Cuirassiers* is the modern term which most nearly answers to *Cataphracts*. See Gillies's Greece, chap. xxxvii.

More to the right, Alexander advanced, at the same moment, under a shower of arrows from the enemy, with thirteen troops of chosen cavalry, attended by a covering party of archers and Agrians. They with difficulty effected their way through the conflicting waves, and across the heavy stream. Before the king could obtain firm footing on the shore, or restore to order the ranks broken in their passage, he was charged on all sides by the Persian cavalry. The sharpness of the battle may be estimated by the amount of the hostile forces.

When the native generals of the enemy—rejecting Memnon's counsel; and adopting the declaration of Arsites, governor of Phrygia, that not a hut should be burnt within his jurisdiction—resolved to fight; they posted their army, consisting of one hundred thousand foot and twenty thousand horse, along the Granicus, relying on the river as a bulwark against the progress of Alexander. This was their order of battle: Against the Macedonian right-wing, which they perceived to be directed by Alexander in person, they opposed their native cavalry, their chief reliance; manœuvred by Memnon and his sons, in conjunction with Arsanes the Persian, and supported by the auxiliary Paphlagonian horse under Arsites. A reserve to this left-wing, consisting partly of the Hyrcanian

cavalry, was commanded by Spithridates, son-in-law to the Persian monarch, associated with his brother Rhæsaces, governor of Libya and Ionia. The main-body * of the foot, which included the Greek mercenaries, was directed by Pharnaces, brother of the queen; by Arbupales, a descendant of Artaxerxes; and by Mithrobarzanes, governor of Cappadocia. Farther to the right, Niphates and Petanes, with Arsaces and Atizyes, commanded levies from various nations which were Persian provinces. On the right flank stood two thousand Medes, and an equal number of Bactrians, under the orders of Rheomithres.

The enemy, having a decided superiority of numbers and the advantage of position, had destroyed, or driven back into the river, the first lines of horse led by Ptolemy. Alexander, regarding an opportunity of combating as the same thing with victory, rallied those troops, and maintained his ground on the bank. The battle was close and sanguinary. Conspicuous by his arms, by his bravery, and by the rapidity with which he traversed the field to give orders, he was sought out and pressed by a cloud of assailants. In the heat of this complex rencounter, a dart, levelled at the king, stuck in a fold

* Freins. transposit. et per inductionem.

of the lower part of his armour, without wounding him. Now, Rhæsaces and Spithridates, two of the boldest among the Persian commanders, assailed him together. Alexander launched his spear against Spithridates, whose breast-plate repelled and broke it. While he was drawing his sword, the brother of Spithridates, riding up, with a powerful swing of his scimitar, cleft the helmet of Alexander, whose hair was grazed by the weapon. Part of the helmet falling, the Persian was preparing to repeat the blow on the unprotected part of the head, thus laid bare; at this moment, Clitus, who, on perceiving the imminent danger of Alexander, had sprung to his aid, cut off the uplifted arm of Rhæsaces, which fell with the grasped sword to the ground. At the same instant, the sword of Alexander slew Spithridates.

Down to the last files of the Persian horse, the Macedonians, charging through the interstices in the ranks, now carried carnage. But the mighty range of Persian squadrons, like the columns of a magnificent temple in ruins, were yet too firm to be easily removed, and too numerous not to present to the eye grand masses and extensive lines. The enemy's cavalry continued to resist Alexander's, with gallant obstinacy, long after the slaughter of the greater

part of their generals had thrown them into disorder, till at length their consternation is rendered complete by the approach of the Macedonian phalanx, which had crossed the river, led by Parmenio. The Barbarian cavalry now lost all their firmness; in their precipitate flight, a thousand were overtaken and slain.

The Persian foot had imagined, that their horse, exclusively, was abundantly competent to defeat Alexander; and had prepared for plunder, rather than defence: having unexpectedly to sustain the shock of the whole Macedonian army, they presented a feeble countenance, and fell, uncontending victims, not in a fight, but a butchery.

The Greek infantry, however, in the Persian service, under the command of Omares, having seized an eminence, sent deputies to Alexander, to stipulate for permission to retire unmolested. When the king, in answer to this proposition, rushed upon them sword in hand, they opposed a steady and vigorous defence. In this conflict there fell more Macedonians, than in the engagement with the Persian cavalry. In a charge at the head of the most advanced, the horse which the king rode was run through the body with a sword. Then, the impetuous Macedonian, having enclosed the desperate Greeks with his ca-

valry and infantry, devoted them to the fiercest slaughter, till two thousand only were left, who surrendered at discretion.

Of the enemy, the entire number killed was twenty thousand foot, and two thousand horse; the prisoners from them were nearly to the same amount. All the Persian generals, except five, died honourably, from wounds in the field. Memnon, Arsaces, Rheomithres, Atizyes, and Arsites, saved themselves by flight: but Arsites, as soon as he had reached Phrygia, perpetrated suicide, under a paroxysm of shame and remorse, conscious that he should be deservedly regarded as the cause of the defeat*.

The few men which this victory cost Alexander, were among the bravest of his soldiers. Of the foot, thirty fell; and seventy of the horse.

To diffuse through the army a confidence, that the leader of the Greeks and Macedonians would, in every event, reward and distinguish the brave,—that leader enriched all who survived the battle, with the spoils of the Persians, and magnificently interred the slain, with their arms and accoutrements; granting immunities to their wives and children. The wounded he treated with cherishing care, visiting them indi-

* Ante, p. 191, and 197.

vidually in their tents, sympathising with the most obscure soldier, and animating him under his sufferings, by commendations, by assurances of promotion, by liberal gifts. To the army, this condescension and beneficence so endeared the king, that, thenceforward, a spirit of fidelity and devotion to him, made them with alacrity encounter the fiercest perils; none betraying a reluctance to shed their blood for a leader, who alleviated the hardships of a military life with well-timed accommodations, and who planted laurel on the common soldier's grave.

In the battle, the band of the FRIENDS* surmounted trying disadvantages, under which the acclivity of the ground had placed them, at the onset; vanquishing the multitude of Persian cavalry, by whom they had been severely pressed. Of this band five and twenty individuals fell, whose memory Alexander distinguished by an eminent group of honours; an equestrian statue of each, in bronze, from the mould of Lysippus †, was erected in Dium, a town of Macedonia; whence, upon the fall of that kingdom, they have been transferred to our imperial city by Metellus.

* Eight squadrons of chosen cavalry were honoured with the name of *friends and companions* to the king.

† Ante, p. 14.

The Thessalians were the main strength of Alexander's cavalry*. On this occasion, the whole army performed its part; the cavalry, on whom the decision depended, displayed extraordinary resolution and valour; the Thessalian squadrons signalized themselves.

The first wreath of distinction, on account of the victory, is due to the king. After weighing the nature of the ground, and the attitude of the enemy, he disposed his army with consummate military skill. He led his troops through the river in an *oblique order*, both to lessen the inconvenience from the current, and to prevent them from being charged in flank, as they ascended from the water. When they were thrown into confusion, and began to waver, he animated them to "one more vigo-"rous attack." His own gallant lance and sword killed numbers of the enemy; and that division of the enemy's army, which he, with Clitus and his attendants, assailed; was the first to fly. His determination to engage, and his manner of engaging, possessed more just decision, than temerity; for having to contend with an untried enemy, far superior in number, he contrived to arm his soldiers with desperation; if the passage of the river was difficult, retreat was im-

Freins. transposit.

possible: he left them no medium between safety and victory.

Alexander extended the *rites* of interment to the superior officers among the Persian slain, and also to the Greeks in the enemy's pay, who had fallen. But the Greek mercenaries whom he had taken prisoners, he sent to Macedon, to be distributed in the prisons there, because, in contempt of the decree of the Amphictyons, they had fought, under Barbarian leaders, against their own country. The Thebans, however, he dismissed, conceiving their offence not to be wilful, but inevitable; as their city was destroyed, their lands confiscated, and they had escaped to coerced exile barely with life; their multiplied calamities, which had sated vengeance, now awakened his commiseration.

Three hundred bucklers, selected out of the Persian arms taken, the conqueror sent to Athens, to be suspended in the temple of Minerva, with this inscription: "Alexander, the "son of Philip, and all the Greeks, the Lace-"dæmonians excepted, dedicate these spoils "won from the Barbarians who inhabit Asia." Independent of religious devotion, and a desire to have his exploits known, he had a twofold motive to this act: by extending to the Greeks a liberal share in the fame of the victory, he might bring them to a more prompt and cheer-

ful compliance with the requisitions of the war: at the same time, he affixed a stigma to the selfishness or sullenness of the Lacedæmonians, who, consulting their separate interest, had cut themselves off from the general body of the Greeks, and from a participation in the glory, which the splendid trophies taken from the Persians would perpetuate.

Not unmindful of his mother, to whom he constantly behaved with true filial duty, the king sent her the cups of gold, robes of purple, and other valuables of that description, found in the spoil; reserving for his own use but a small proportion.

CHAP. VI.

Alexander returns to Troy. Omen retrospectively noticed. The victor receives the submission of various places in Phrygia, Ionia, and other provinces. His moderation and policy. He resigns his mistress Campaspe to Apelles: Notice of doubtful anecdotes related of the artist. Alexander liberally endows the temple of Diana: The Ephesians refuse to inscribe his name upon it.

AFTER the battle, Alexander repaired a second time to Troy, and offered thanksgivings to the goddess, who had, at the trying commence-

ment of a weighty war, furnished him with arms, and animated him with auspicious presages. For when he formerly landed from the Hellespont on the Ilian shore*, there lay, prostrated on the ground, in front of the temple of Minerva, an equestrian statue of Ariobarsanus, who had formerly been governor of Phrygia. Aristander, who, with the king, witnessed this, construed it into an omen of glorious victory in an equestrian engagement, in which the conqueror should, with his own hand, slay the enemy's general: but the hierophant pronounced the result to be so far conditional, that the field of battle must border on Phrygia. The action on the Granicus† countenanced the prediction.

The king made presents of imperial value to the temple of the goddess. To the village encircled by the ruins of ancient Troy, he gave the title of city; and that it might respectably support that title, he appointed officers to restore and enlarge it; and conferred on it, freedom and various immunities. And because the temple, besides being in a state of decay, appeared to Alexander too limited for the worship of Minerva, he vowed to raise to her a magnificent structure, should the future afford him op-

* Ante, p. 184. † Ante, p. 199.

portunity. Fate arrested him, while meditating this, with other great designs: nor were they executed by his successors.

The battle of the Granicus had laid open to the victor all that part of Asia which lies on this side mount Taurus and the Euphrates: Destitute, not only of a protecting army, but of satraps and leaders, the awed inhabitants of Phrygia, Ionia, and Caria, had no hopes but in the clemency of Alexander; fearfully impatient to obtain this clemency, they tendered their allegiance, like rivals in submission. The king constituted Calas, general of the Thessalians, governor of Phrygia*. Ambassadors, bearing the homage of the contiguous mountain-tracts, were dismissed by the king, with an assurance that they were received into his protection. He pardoned the Zeliti, because he knew that the coercion of the Persians had armed them against him.

Alexander imposed on the cities and provinces thus acquired a tribute no greater in amount than that which they had been accustomed to pay Darius; and he observed the same moderation with regard to every new conquest. He was sensible, that a foreign government is always regarded as an invidious

* Ante, p. 201.

intrusion, and impatiently borne, even when exercised with more lenity than the expelled domestic administration: but if to the former burdens of the subject new impositions are added, the change of masters is felt as an intolerable usurpation; wherefore, when a courtier suggested, that he might, by increasing the taxes of so large an empire, materially augment his revenue, he replied, 'That he abhorred the 'sottish avidity of a gardener, who pulled up 'by the roots those plants, which he ought to 'be contented with cropping at seasonable 'times.'

Informed that the enemy still held Dascylium, he detached thither Parmenio, whom the inhabitants eagerly received; the Persian garrison having quitted it on the approach of the Macedonians. Alexander in person proceeded to Sardis; then the capital of a chain of provinces, which the Persian kings committed to satraps governing maritime divisions of the empire; and more anciently the splendid metropolis of the unfortunate Crœsus, the last king of Lydia. Seventy stadia from the city, Mithrenes, whom Darius had made governor of the citadel, accompanied by the principal Sardian nobility, met the conqueror; and surrendered the municipal jurisdiction, and the forts, with the treasures. The Macedonian ruler restored Sardis

to its ancient privileges and laws, after it had endured, above two centuries, the oppressions of Persia.

Encamping on the river Hermus, about twenty stadia from Sardis, he sent forward Amyntas, the son of Andromene, to receive the keys of the citadel. Seated on a lofty hill, on all sides difficult of access, it would have been tenable against any force, even without its walls and triple rampart. Alexander was highly satisfied with his success, in obtaining this capital fortress without the process of a long siege, which would have retarded the execution of his great designs; in gratitude, he resolved to build there a temple to Jupiter Olympius. While surveying the ground, to discover the fittest station for the structure, a sudden storm poured a flood of rain, with partial fury, on that part of the area within the citadel where anciently had stood the palace of the Lydian king. Believing the site to be thus pointed out by heaven, he ordered the temple to be erected on this spot.

Knowing that the Sardians* entertained a peculiar veneration for Diana, whom they worshipped under the name of *Coloëne*, he made her

Freins. transposit.

temple an asylum. He restored to the Lydians their favourite laws and institutions.

To induce other Persian officers to imitate the perfidy of Mithrenes, the political invader degraded promotions, and tainted honours, by showering them on that traitor, making him at length prefect of Armenia*.

In the citadel of Sardis† was found an account of the money which had been distributed by the satraps of Darius, to instigate the Greeks to a war with Macedon: as a central organ of circulation, Demosthenes, in particular, had been supplied with vast largesses, as appeared from some of his letters, preserved in the archives‡. Alexander, however, having made a peace with the Athenians, by which former grounds of dispute were cancelled, did not deem it proper to complain publicly of these proceedings: but he saw it the more necessary to counteract—by general vigilance, and individual courtesies—the powerful eloquence and refined intrigues of this inveterate opponent, lest the people of Attica should be seduced from their engagements; a defection which might influence all Greece. Another Athenian had attracted the king's *esteem*; Phocion maintained in it as exalted a place as any

* Frei..s. transposit. † Eodem. ‡ Ante, p. 142.

man, by the incorruptible, undeviating virtue, and soaring integrity, which shed a lustre round his poverty. The king was attentive to him at first, for the uses to which he imagined address might mould him: but when he had received multiplied convictions of his magnanimity, the interested, measuring valuation of the politician was absorbed in unbounded admiration. To relate here two circumstances, which should be postponed, if regulated merely by their date:—Alexander, in the course of his attempts to gain him, sent him a hundred talents, [£22,500,] and desired him to select one as his own, out of these four cities in Greece—Cius, Elæa, Mylassa, Patara; places of considerable rank. Phocion inflexibly refused the whole of this superb temptation: but lest he should be construed to spurn at the friendship of Alexander, he prayed him to grant, as a favour to himself, liberty to the sophist Echecratides; Athenodorus, the Imbrian; Demaratus and Sparto, Rhodians; all then imprisoned in the fortress at Sardis. When the king, after the overthrow of Darius, had become so extravagantly elated, as to consider the persons whom he addressed by letter, as unworthy of the usual form of salutation, he continued that compliment to Phocion as well as to Antipater.

Alexander had now to provide for the secu-

rity of the conquered territories, and to form provincial governments and administrations. To Pausanias, of the Band of Friends *, he confided the important citadel of Sardis, with the command of the Argive auxiliaries. The other confederate Greeks, with the satrapy from which Memnon had been driven, were placed under the command of Calas, and Alexander the son of Æropus. Nicias was commissioned to collect the imposts and tributes. Assander, the son of Philotas, obtained the government of Lydia under the same limitations as Spithridates had held it.

These appointments completed,—Alexander marched to Ephesus †, which the garrison, apprized of the defeat of the Persian army, had quitted in two gallies: With them escaped Amyntas, the son of Antiochus, because he feared, that the malignant and unprovoked opposition which he had manifested, had kindled a flame of inextinguishable resentment in the king. It is remarkable, that more than one Macedonian of the name of Amyntas were enemies and traitors to Alexander.

On the fourth day after leaving Sardis, Alexander entered Ephesus. He recalled all the persons whom the oligarchy had exiled, and

* Freins. transposit. † Ibid.

flattered the attachment of the citizens to unmixed democracy, by reëstablishing that form (as by daring trope it may be termed) of government. The mass, as soon as they were liberated from restraint, and invested with power, clamorously demanded, that the party which had called-in Memnon; and the citizens who had either cast down the statue erected to Philip, or had levelled the monument in the forum to the patriot Heropythus; and those individuals, (for with the names and actions of the proscribed they mingled profligates and crimes,) who had pillaged the temple of Diana, should all be punished according to their demerits. At this outcry, Pelagon and his brother Syrphaces, with their kinsmen, were dragged from the violated asylum of the temple, and were stoned to death. All things were tending to turbulence and effusion of blood, when Alexander, interposing, arrested the outrages of the rabble, and prohibited any accusation or molestation founded on past transactions. Thus was a shield extended over the superior class of citizens, who would otherwise, to expiate their dignity or riches, have been, on the pretext of some former offence, immolated to the revenge and avarice of a despotic, remorseless, multitude.

A deputation from Magnesia overtook Alexander at Ephesus, while another met him from

Trallus,—to convey the submission of both cities. The king detached Parmenio to Æolia, with five thousand foot, and two hundred horse; and caused Alcimalus to traverse Ionia with a similar force; that they might take possession in his name of the scattered states and municipalities; instructing both generals to abolish oligarchy, and to restore democracy, in all the Grecian colonies,—for he had discovered that the Grecian colonies were well affected to him, or, which is the same thing in its effects, were highly impatient and irritated under the curb and lash of their Asiatic tyrant. The most turbid forms of popular domination he might allow to small, separate states, without much danger to him or to themselves, while he retained the power to moderate domestic faction.

At Ephesus, Alexander frequently recreated his mind, after the fatigues of government, by visiting the study of Apelles *. The picture of Alexander grasping a thunderbolt, painted for the temple of Ephesian Diana, gained the artist a reward of twenty talents. For his Venus Anadyomené, in the sanctuary at Cos, the second Cæsar, our great Augustus, remitted to the inhabitants a hundred talents of tribute, although time or accident had then impaired the

* Ante, p. 14.

lower part of the piece: the traits effaced no one of our painters would venture to restore. The model of this Venus was Campaspe*, Alexander's favourite mistress, of exquisite beauty, and the first who had attracted his youthful heart. The sensibility of Apelles was too deeply penetrated by the charms which he had successfully depicted. Alexander, as soon as apprized of his passion, in return for the picture, made him a present of the original, resigning the personal interest which Campaspe had so long maintained in his own heart†. If the prince consulted the sentiments of the beloved object, in promoting her marriage with Apelles, he acted with peculiar magnanimity.

Another story of these great men is not so well authenticated; namely, this: Apelles painted an equestrian portrait of Alexander, in which the representation of the horse did not satisfy the king: while the king was pointing out its defects, a living horse neighed in passing the picture; and Apelles, availing himself of so singular an incident, said, "The horse seems a "better judge of painting than your Majesty." But the repartee, supposing it to have occurred, had more freedom than justice: because, the deceptive piece might possess visible life, with-

* Ælian calls her Pancasta. † Plin. iii. 222. et seq.

out characterizing the beauty, spirit, and majesty of Bucephalus. Still less do I credit an anecdote, describing Alexander, on another occasion, when he differed from the painter, as pronouncing with great vehemence and volubility, some observations on the art which betrayed total ignorance of its principles: when Apelles interrupted him by a taunting reprimand, neither consistent with the dignity of conscious genius*, nor with the deference which was due to Alexander, not merely as a king, but as a man of taste, who patronized the arts. More probable is that version of the anecdote, which substitutes, for Alexander, a superior among the *Megabizi*, as the priests of Diana were called: this man was pouring out a torrent of impertinence on the finished pictures round, as well as the pieces on the easel:—Apelles told him, 'That while he had remained silent, 'his ornaments of gold and purple gained 'him the veneration of the ignorant: but 'lecturing on an art of which he knew nothing,

* With the frankness of his age and nation, he assumed the merit which belonged to him, and freely asserted, that none of his competitors could imitate the gracefulness of his attitudes and figures. But in some other branches of the art, he acknowledged his inferiority to several of his contemporaries. The desire of seeing the works of Protogenes carried him to Rhodes; he drew Protogenes from obscurity; raised the price of his pictures; and taught the Rhodians, who had undervalued the *same* talents in their fellow-citizen which they admired in a stranger, to perceive his eminent merit.—*Gillies.*

'he was an object of ridicule even to the boys 'grinding the colours.'

Fourteen years, the temple* lay a magnificent pile of ruins; eight years, the Ephesians had been engaged in rebuilding it, and were still prosecuting the work†. Alexander assisted their pious zeal, by throwing into the revenues of Diana the tribute from that city, until then paid to the Persians.—Its ancient privilege, as an asylum, which Bacchus had instituted, and Hercules had respected, this politic governor confirmed; enlarging the boundaries of the sanctuary to one square stadium. Afterwards, when he had conquered Asia, he proposed, in a letter to the Ephesians, 'To reimburse all that 'they had expended on the edifice, and to sup- 'ply whatever treasures were necessary to 'complete it, provided his name were inscribed 'on the new temple.' Unwilling to concede their honours as the founders, they veiled their refusal under a cloud of incense. Availing themselves of his claim to be worshipped as Jupiter's son, they declared, by their ambassadors, 'That he could not, as they conceived, 'dedicate a temple to Diana, without stepping 'down from his own rank as a deity: while 'the same addiction by a community of men 'were a proper homage to her superior nature.'

* Ante, p. 13. † Strabo, lib. xiv. p. 641. Plin. lib. xxxv. c. 10.

They were not venal flatterers; for, while they forfeited his profuse offers, they expended their own riches on the building, even to their jewels*. With the same address, they employed Apelles to paint that inimitable picture which has been adverted to†.

CHAP. VII.

Alexander restores Smyrna. Attempts to unite the gulfs. Siege of Miletus. His sarcasm on the statues to Athletæ. Antiquities there.

THE seat in which the Smyrnæans had anciently flourished, was, about this time, restored to

* Aristot. *Cur. Rei. Famil.* t. ii. p. 505. Strabo, *ut supra.*

† *Ante*, p. 214. Pliny tells us, [lib. xxxv. c. 32.] that "the celebrated painters, Apelles, Echion, Melanthius, and Nicomachus, accomplished their immortal works with four colours only; using for whites, the Meline calx,—for yellows, the Athenian ochre,—for reds, the Sinopian earth,—for blacks, the atramentum," (a compound of ivory-black and glue); "but as far as Apelles and Nicomachus are concerned, this is a mistake; and it is not unlikely that Pliny was misled by an imperfect recollection of a passage in Cicero—[*Brutus, seu de Claris Oratoribus*, c. 18.]—"Painting shows a similar progression. In Zeuxis and Polygnotus, and Timanthes, and those who used no more than four colours, we applaud the DESIGN and PROPORTIONS: but in the later pictures of Ætion, Nicomachus, Protogenes, and Apelles, ALL THE BRANCHES OF THE ART are perfect." Pliny himself describes the Venus Anadyomené; and in this picture the sea was represented, which required azure.—*Paper by Sir H. Davy, Transactions of the Royal Society of London for* 1815. *Part I. No.* 8. *p.* 122.

their descendants, after they had lived dispersed in villages during four hundred years, the interval since the destruction of pristine Smyrna by the Lydians. Influenced by a dream, Alexander rebuilt it about twenty stadia from the place where the old city had stood. Accustomed, when affairs of moment would permit, to take the exercise of hunting, he, one day, after the fatigues of the chase, fell asleep on the mountain Pagus; embraced by repose, he imagined that he heard the Nemeses (whose temple was contiguous) command him to found a city in the place where he was, and people it with the Smyrnæans. In harmony with this dream, the oracle of Apollo Clarius promised to the inquiring Smyrnæans, that their removal would redound to their benefit. The foundations of the new city are, in consequence, laid under the orders of the king: Antigonus had the glory of finishing it, Alexander having committed to him the government of Lydia, Phrygia, and the contiguous tracts.

The Clazomenii inhabit a little promontory on the narrow west part of the gulf of Smyrna, running almost the distance of sixty stadia into the sea. Their territory is part of a peninsula, which stretching into the Ægean, by the isle of Chios, has Erythræ, famous for its sybils, towards the northern extremity; and Teos,

nearly opposite to the Clazomenii, on the southern side of the Isthmus. Near Teos, is the mountain Mimas, of great altitude, but of gentle declivity at its base, terminating in a plain near the territory of the Clazomenii. Alexander, having surveyed the place, resolved to cut a channel through the isthmus, which, encompassing Mimas and Erythræ, should separate the peninsula from the continent, and unite the gulfs of Smyrna and Ephesus. This was the solitary project in which he failed, fortune concurring with him to accomplish all his other undertakings. The humiliating disappointment drew from him this superstitious reflection: "It is not lawful for mortals to change the face "of nature, and such an attempt is the more "presumptuous after others have engaged in it "and miscarried." These expressions *might* be dictated by art; for while they contained an apology for his failure, they were calculated to deter others from inflicting on him the additional mortification which the completion of what he had abandoned would give to a spirit too extravagantly proud to be uniformly magnanimous. A less gigantic work, that of joining Clazomenæ to the continent, the king committed to one of his lieutenants: This was effected by a mole, or causeway, two stadia in length: The separation had been artificial; the Clazome-

nii having converted their territory into an island, to protect themselves from the Persians.

To Diana, Alexander now offered magnificent sacrifices; during which, to swell the honours which he paid her, his assembled forces were present under arms. Leaving Ephesus the following day, he marched to Miletus, the ancient capital of Ionia; taking with him all the infantry, the Thracian cavalry, and four of the select squadrons, called his friends, including the royal band. Hegesistratus, the governor of Miletus, had intimated by letter to Alexander, that he would surrender the place to him. Understanding, afterwards, that the Persian fleet was approaching, the vacillating Barbarian conceived the design of maintaining for Darius the fortress, which was abundantly supplied with arms, provisions, and every requisite to endure a long siege: the garrison was numerous, Memnon having in his flight, after the battle of the Granicus, reinforced it with a considerable body of troops.

Alexander, falling suddenly upon the enemy with his incensed army, possessed himself, immediately on commencing the siege, of the outward town, as it was termed: The citizens and garrison, to prevent their strength from being divided, had retired into the inner town, resolving there to wait for reinforcements, which

they were informed were at hand. Their expectations of relief were frustrated by the arrival of the Macedonian fleet, under Nicanor, who took possession of the island of Ladé, lying above Miletus. Apprised that the Persian fleet were at anchor under the mountain Mycale, Alexander's admiral sailed into the Milesian harbour, and cut off the besieged from succour. Nor did the Barbarians offer to obstruct him, notwithstanding they had nearly four hundred vessels, while Nicanor's force did not exceed one hundred and sixty.

During these naval proceedings, Glaucippus, the most considerable person in the city, was sent to Alexander, to demand that the suburbs and the harbour might be held in common by the Persians and Macedonians; but he returned with this uncompromising answer: "Alexander has not come into Asia to accept "what others have no objection to bestow: "no, with what he can spare every one must "be satisfied. The people of Miletus ought to "know it to be their duty to confide their for-"tunes to the arbitration of their superior, un-"less they are prepared, as soon as the morning "dawns, to appeal to the sword."

The Milesians gallantly repelled the first shock of the Macedonians, killing, among others, the two sons of Hellenica, foster-mother

to Alexander, and sister to the brave Clitus. Afflicted and incensed, the companions of the regretted slain brought their military machines to act upon the city wall, and soon made a practicable breach. Now, the Macedonian preparations for storming were complete: the besieged beholding, in one direction, fierce enemies climbing to the assault; and in another, hostile gallies entering the harbour, were suddenly seized with a disordering panic. Some of the garrison, buoying themselves on their leather bucklers, swam to the opposite island; others, in little boats rowed for the same point, but these were taken by the Macedonian vessels at the mouth of the harbour.

Alexander, having reduced the fortress, dispatched gallies against the small party which had reached the island; providing the troops on board with ladders, to ascend the lofty and craggy bank, as in the escalade of a city. But observing that the Greeks in the pay of the Persians, (not exceeding, altogether, three hundred men,) were ready to sacrifice their lives, in the last extremity, he began to sympathize with, and to admire, the fidelity and bravery which impelled them to venture close to destruction in the service of those under

whom they had enlisted. He spared them, and incorporated them with his army.

Meanwhile, the soldiers*, who had forced an entrance into the city through the breach, commenced a general pillage. As some of them broke into the temple of Ceres, with a design to plunder it, sudden flashes of fire, darting from the interior, struck the sacrilegious wretches blind.

The victor made slaves of all the Barbarians whom he found in the town; while he lifted the surviving Milesians to restored liberty, in consideration of the ancient splendour of their republic. For Miletus was, a long time, so flourishing and powerful, as to have planted no less than seventy colonies in the neighbouring seas. And it had a wide-spread lustre from the number of its citizens who had carried away the palm in the sacred combats; for such honours were classed by the Greeks among the highest proofs and ornaments of virtue. But Alexander did not share in this extravagant respect for *athletæ,* who cultivated the powers of the body merely to amuse the populace, and gratify a passion for notoriety, by fighting on a stage for prizes; he valued physical vigor, as it

* Freins. transposit.

could conduce to public advantage *. This made him sarcastically ask, when he beheld the multiplicity of statues erected to men who had gained triumphs in the amphitheatre, " Where, Mile-" sians! were these champions when you re-" ceived the Persian yoke?"

Among several existing monuments of his ancestors, the king's curiosity was attracted by a fountain, whose waters are brackish to the taste at its bubbling source, and sweet when divided into streams: the Milesians call it the spring of Achilles, from a tradition that the hero bathed in it, after he had vanquished Strambelus, Telamon's son, carrying succour to the Lesbians. Miletus could likewise boast of the oracle of Apollo Didymeus, rich, and celebrated for its responses. Seleucus, one of the powerful successors of Alexander, consulted it respecting his return to Macedon, and received this answer; ' That, bidding adieu to ' Europe, he should embrace Asia.'

The king's fondness for astonishing novelties was also gratified by information that a youth of Jassus, in a neighbouring island, had charmed or tamed a dolphin to service and attachment; the fish being so familiar with his voice, that, when called, it would readily take

* Ante, p. 31.

him on its back, and bear him over the waves. Inferring that this young man was a favourite of Neptune*, the king constituted him high-priest of the god.

* This seems to have been a hasty inference: since Alexander's time, there have been many proofs of the possibility of taming fishes. Pliny reports, that one of the Roman emperors had, in a set of fish-ponds that had been peculiarly tended, several fish that would individually come and show themselves when called by their particular names.

An epigram of Martial, lib. iv. 30, seems to confirm this account:

Piscator, fuge! hic nocens, recedas;
Sacris piscibus hæ natantur undæ;
Qui norunt dominum, manumque lambunt
Illam, quâ nihil est, in orbe, majus:
Quid, quòd, nomen habent; et ad magistri
Vocem quisque sui venit citatus.

Rash angler, fly! while guiltless, hence away;
The fish are sacred in these waves that play;
Their lord they know, and kiss his feeding hand,
That dares the world to match its high command:
These all bear names; each, from its finny peers,
Darts to the marge, its master when it hears.

One of the Great Moguls is represented, by Mons. Bernard, in his *History of Indostan*, to have had fish brought to the same state of docility. See Walton's *Complete Angler*, SEVENTH edit. London, 1808.

CHAP. VIII.

By preventing the Persian fleet from victualling, Alexander obliges it to leave Miletus; and, meanwhile, captures one ship of a small detachment. He discharges his fleet. Sends a force against Pontus. Reduces the whole of Caria except the capital; protects the queen, who had been unjustly expelled. The pupil of Leonidas remembers a lesson on temperance.

AFTER the reduction of Miletus, the numerous fleet of the Barbarians continued to hover near it; and, confident in their multitude and superior seamanship, in order to provoke a battle, repeatedly presented themselves before the port where the Macedonian ships were riding. Hereupon, the king detached Philotas, with the cavalry and three battalions of infantry, to mount Mycale, near the anchorage of the Persians, instructing him to prevent the enemy from landing, and from obtaining wood, water, or other supplies. Reduced by this proceeding to great difficulties, the admirals of the enemy, after calling a council, steered to Samos: but as soon as they had provisioned their fleet, they returned

to Miletus, again taking a station before the harbour in order of battle.

Meanwhile, a Persian officer, with a detachment of five ships, discovering a few Macedonian vessels in a separate port—between the little island, before mentioned, and the harbour which contained the body of the Macedonian fleet—made all sail thither, expecting to find them comparatively unmanned, and that, while their crews were engaged on shore at a distance, they would fall easy prizes. But Alexander putting as many seamen as could be collected at the instant on board ten gallies, commanded them to go and meet the enemy. The Persians, attacked with superior forces by those whom they thought to have surprised in a state of weakness, had recourse to flight: one of their ships, manned with Jassians, was captured; the remainder, by swift sailing, regained their fleet. The Persian admiral was forced to leave Miletus without accomplishing his object.

It now occurred to Alexander, that the disproportionate inferiority of his fleet to that of the enemy, would prevent it from supporting his future land operations with precision; besides, the expenditure which it occasioned appeared to be too great for his treasury: he therefore expressed to his lieutenants a design of dismissing it. Parmenio maintained a different

opinion, and urged the king to venture a naval engagement; " For," said he, " if the Mace-
" donians be victorious, they will reap number-
" less advantages: if they should be obliged to
" retire, they will lose nothing, since the Per-
" sians are already masters at sea; and it will
" not be difficult for those who are strongest on
" land to defend their coasts." To engage the king to accept his advice, he offered to execute it himself, and to take, on board the fleet, any post in the conflict and share of the danger which the king would assign him. His proposition had the countenance of a presage, susceptible of a very encouraging interpretation; an eagle had alighted on the shore behind the king's fleet. The leader of the army thus replied:
" You are deceived, Parmenio! in supposing
" that our small marine can contend with all
" the Persian navy. Is it eligible to commit
" inexperienced, unseasoned crews—in a contest
" with expert rowers and proficient navigators?
" I do not distrust the bravery of my men: but
" I am sensible that, in sea fights, bravery, with-
" out tactics, can contribute little to victory.
" Often is a line of gallies broken by the winds
" and waves; but these deranging accidents
" may, by a skilful management of the sail,
" rudder, and oar, be either eluded, or improved
" into advantages. Much depends on the struc-

" ture of the ships. The highest courage of the
" Macedonians would be unprofitably exerted,
" since circumstances would enable the Barba-
" rians, either totally to decline an engagement,
" or, if a disaster befel us, to destroy our fleet.
" Should we then lose nothing, Parmenio? All
" Asia would be roused to firm opposition, if
" by a stroke our marine were swept away at
" the commencement of the war. The mass of
" mankind are of such a temperament, that, ac-
" cording as the first great affair prospers or
" miscarries, they look with confidence or ap-
" prehension to the final event. Not to doubt
" of this effect on Asia, who can assure me that
" the Greeks themselves will remain faithful, if
" they find one gleaming inducement to believe
" that success is going to abandon us; for, to
" disclose a fact, all that attaches them to us is
" our prosperity. I must confess, that I re-
" gard the circumstance of an eagle having been
" seen behind our naval columns as a presage of
" victory. But the augury seems to indicate,
" that we shall overcome the enemy's fleet by
" land; for the auspicious bird did not rest
" upon our ships, but on the shore, pointing
" out the place for operations, as well as the
" result. It is too evident to be controverted,
" that if we proceed in reducing the maritime
" cities under our power, the adverse marine

" must waste of itself; for it will have neither " recruits, nor provisions, nor convenient and " secure harbours. Take these from the Per- " sians, and the more numerous their navy, the " sooner will it moulder to ruin through the " want of resources. These reasons induce me " to retain, in attendance on the army, only so " many ships as are necessary to transport the " heaviest battering engines *."

The great proportion of the fleet which was discharged, *possibly*, included all the Grecian contingents. Alexander now confided † to select lieutenants expeditions against Pontus and the contiguous tracts. He in person advanced into Caria, informed that the enemy had there assembled in force. Those inhabitants who preserved their allegiance to Persia, entertained hopes, that Halicarnassus, with its strong natural fortifications flanked by two citadels, would stop, as a bank of impervious rock, the torrent of invasion. They had the highest reliance on Memnon, who was unremitting in preparations to make a successful stand against a persevering siege. He had been recently constituted, by Darius, governor of the maritime coasts, and high-admiral. He was a man of great penetration, address, and resource, prompt

* Chap. ix. infra, in p. supern. † Freins. transposit.

to seize opportunities and to discern the remedies required in critical times. Greatly superior to the rest of the Persian generals in the art of war, he was conscious that he had not been trusted and rewarded according to his integrity and merit: and he knew the cause; as he was of Grecian extraction, and had formerly been well received at the Macedonian court, his tried services had not entirely exempted him from suspicion; he therefore sent his wife and children to Darius, as though he was solicitous for their safety; but intending, by these invaluable pledges, to convince the king of his fidelity.

In a short time Alexander was master of all the places between Miletus and Halicarnassus, a great majority of them being Grecian colonies; these, according to his constant policy, he reinstated in the privilege of living under their own laws and institutions, declaring, 'That he entered Asia to liberate them from oppression.'

By insinuating arts, he even won the affections of the aboriginal Barbarians, who, with the posterity of some ancient Phœnician settlers, inhabited Caria. To Ada, a native princess, who implored his interference to place her on the throne of that kingdom, from which she had been unjustly expelled, he behaved with the most courteous attention. Hecatomnus, antecedently king of Caria, had three sons and two

daughters: the custom of that country allowed the offspring of the same parents to be affianced in marriage, and partners in dominion: Mausolus, the eldest son, married Artemisia; Hidrius espoused Ada; Pexodarus, the youngest son and child, unable to pursue a custom which strikes us as a revolting deformity in national manners, degraded his princely, and heightened his moral dignity, by taking a wife in another family. On the death of the father, Hecatomnus, Mausolus and Artemisia conjointly reigned. By the Carian laws, as well as those of Upper Asia, the succession of females, on an exact equality with males, in the order of seniority, had been established ever since the age of Semiramis*: on the decease of Mausolus, Artemisia reigned solely. Dying with grief at the end of two years, she was succeeded by Hidrius and Ada. Ada likewise survived her husband and brother: but Pexodarus, the last son of Hecatomnus, expelled her from the throne; and she took refuge in the fortified city Alinda. This strong hold she still possessed; but though Pexodarus was dead, she remained deprived of her right; for that usurper had married his daughter to Orontobates, a Persian nobleman; and to this pretender, whose weak title was de-

* Arrian, p. 23.

rived through his wife, the Great King, rejecting the just claims of Ada, had confirmed the crown.

This royal fugitive, at her first appearance before Alexander, to state her sufferings and demand his protection, addressed him by the appellation of son, and voluntarily surrendered to him Alinda. The Macedonian leader met the application, by a promise to establish her on the throne of Caria; which, after the reduction of Halicarnassus, he performed; leaving three thousand foot and two hundred horse to support her authority.

Meanwhile, his friendly reception of the injured Ada being proclaimed, with his exploits, by well-affected rumour, made an impression on the country favourable to his progress. From a great proportion of towns in the hands of the kinsmen or partizans of the princess, ambassadors brought crowns of gold, and delivered solemn assurances, 'That they embraced the protection, and would loyally obey the mandates, of Alexander.'

Ada, impatient to express her gratitude, prepared an exquisite assemblage of poignant and elegantly-flavoured viands and delicacies for the table of Alexander, and accompanied this present with a suite of cooks and confectioners; supposing that the refinements of Asiatic luxury

would be welcome to the conqueror after the fatigues of war. But the Macedonian ruler knew, that, to make invention a sycophant to the palate, is of pernicious consequence to the man who is engaged on weighty affairs. To the princess, while he politely thanked her for having sent him artists to regale his taste, he intimated, 'That it was superfluous; for he had 'with him better cooks, which were appointed 'by his tutor Leonidas—a walk early in the 'morning to create an appetite for dinner, and 'a frugal dinner to give zest to supper.'

CHAP. IX.

Alexander commences the siege of Halicarnassus. Unsuccessful attempt on Mindus. The garrison of Halicarnassus make a sortie. Two Macedonian soldiers, intoxicated, begin an assault, by which the place is nearly carried. Alexander obtains a truce to bury the slain. Anecdote of Memnon.

THE whole of Caria had now submitted, except the metropolis Halicarnassus, which was defended by a numerous garrison of Persians and

Greek mercenaries. Foreseeing a protracted siege, the king conveyed on-shore, from the attendant ships, provisions, with the necessary battering-engines. The catapults were immediately employed against the walls of the city, Alexander encamping with the infantry at the distance of five stadia. While a party of pioneers were working the battering-engines near the gate towards Mylassa, the besieged made an unexpected sally. The conflict was vigorously maintained; but the Macedonians, seasonably reinforced, at length repelled their desperate assailants, without suffering much loss in the affair.

A few days afterwards, Alexander received intimation that a faction in Mindus were ready clandestinely to deliver that town to him. In consequence, he proceeded thither, with a division of the army, in the silence of the night. But all the gates remained closed, nor was there any signal or movement from within: he therefore ordered some of the heavy-armed foot to undermine the wall; for, not having designed a siege in form, he had with him neither scaling-ladders nor battering-engines. After the soldiers had loosened the foundations of a tower, and brought it down, still there was no breach by which they might enter, for the tower fell in such a direction, that the ruins now defended the

space which the demolished pile had guarded. The garrison made a determined resistance: a reinforcement, sent by Memnon from Halicarnassus, arrived; and this enterprize of the Macedonians was frustrated.

Alexander, on his return to the siege of Halicarnassus, saw it necessary to undertake the laborious work of filling up a foss, thirty cubits broad, and fifteen deep, with which the enemy had surrounded the fort. For this purpose, he prepared three military tortoises; under cover of which, his pioneers could safely convey the earth and fascines. When the foss had been filled, by catapults elevated on wooden turrets, he battered the wall till he effected a practicable breach. Through this he attempted to storm the town: but the great numerical force of the garrison enabled Memnon constantly to replace his front lines by fresh troops. The Persians fought vigorously, animated by the presence of their generals, who performed every thing which could conduce to defence. The Macedonians persevered in their bold attacks till the day was exhausted, when the conflict terminated, the assailants retiring, and the besieged not pursuing.

The active Memnon, under a persuasion that the fatigues of the evenly-balanced day would render the Macedonian centinels less vigilant,

made a nocturnal sally, setting fire to the besiegers' works. The soldiers of Alexander heard the alarm; armed; and charged the detachment from the garrison, amid the flames, which one party laboured anxiously to extinguish, the other more furiously to spread. The Macedonians, though greatly superior in personal strength and courage, and in the cool indifference to danger which long intimacy with it gives, were yet almost borne down by their more numerous assailants; and, greatly distressed by ensnaring stratagems; receiving, in this conflict which had drawn them under the walls to protect their own engines, wounds from balistæ in the fortress which they had no opportunity of revenging. On both sides, vehement exhortations to their own men, and menaces to their antagonists, produce a general indistinct peal of piercing acclamation: hoarsely mingled, the groans of the wounded and dying pierce the listening sense: but the pathetic inarticulations of agony are again contrasted and overpowered by brisk and cheering sounds; from the voices and implements of workmen within the walls, repairing the damages caused by the shock of the besiegers' engines. The darkness of the night, and the irregular glare of scattered spires of flame reluctantly expiring—gasping emblems of the aversion of animal life to extinction—occa-

sioned the destruction and tumult of the scene to be greatly surpassed by the horror.

At length, the intrepid and persevering Macedonians drove the enemy within the walls, having killed of them one hundred and seventy, among whom was Neoptolemus, who, with his brother Amyntas, had fled to the Persians. The slain of the Macedonians did not exceed sixteen: but their wounded amounted to three hundred, the random discharge of adverse darts having conspired, with the black and featureless complexion of the night, to render impracticable their usual dexterity in guarding their bodies.

A few days afterwards, Halicarnassus was on the point of yielding to rashness and accident. Two veterans of the battalion of Perdiccas, posted on that side of the wall which looked toward Miletus, supping together in their tent, began a vaunting conversation on their military exploits, in which each preferred his own. When the heating effect of wine had raised to phrenzied extravagance the spirit of emulation, one of them exclaimed: "Why do we degrade "so noble a debate by the empty strife of "words? It is not the fluent tongue, but the "vigorous arm, that must decide. If you are "that great warrior, come with me." Taking weapons, they rushed forth together to assault

the wall of Halicarnassus, each scarcely entertaining the wild hope of victory, but ambitious to excel his companion in daring and prowess.

The centinels of the fort perceived the audacious enterprize, and moved to repel it: but the two Macedonians struck down with their swords the first men who approached, and flung javelins at the more distant. The enemy, rushing upon them from higher ground, would, however, have punished their boldness by overwhelming numbers, had not some soldiers of their own battalion, who observed their danger, advanced to their relief. The Halicarnassians also reinforced their guards. A sharp conflict ensued, in which success was alternate, till Alexander, leading up a force collected from the nearest quarters, drove the enemy into the town, which he had nearly entered with them. In this train of casualties, the garrison, intent on what was passing in one direction, relaxed in their defence of the walls; and two towers, with the intervening curtain, were beat down by the battering-rams; and a third became a pile of loose stones, of which a slight shock by the miners would complete the fall. Could the whole army have engaged in this sudden attack, the town might have been taken by storm.

Alexander desired a suspension of arms, that he might be able to bury those soldiers who had

fallen under the walls; choosing rather, in the estimation of the Greeks, to yield the victory to the enemy, than to leave his slain without interment. Against granting this application, Ephialtes and Thrasybulus, two Athenians in the Persian service, tenaciously protested; less inclined to cultivate humanity than to nurture livid antipathies; the malevolent and implacable foes which their hatred painted the Macedonians: but Memnon maintained, "That it "was unsuitable to the manners and character "of Greeks, to refuse an enemy permission to "bury his slain: That we should launch our "weapons against adversaries in the field; but "not insult them when they had not the power "to benefit or injure us." Memnon, among various great and good qualities, displayed remarkable moderation; not deeming honourable the virulent prejudice which covers an enemy with slander and invective: on the contrary, it was by talents and bravery that he expected to conquer. Once he heard an individual among the mercenaries vent much petulance and opprobrium against Alexander: Memnon, striking him with his spear, told him, 'That he had not 'hired him to rail, but to fight.'

CHAP. X.

During the truce, the garrison build a new wall. Alexander batters it; they make a sortie. A second sortie places Alexander in a critical situation: the garrison are defeated. They set fire to their works, and retire to castles near. Alexander demolishes Halicarnassus. His proceedings during the winter.

THE besieged, intent on providing for their security in the meantime, raised a brick wall within that which had been beaten down, not in a direct line, but bending inwardly like a half moon. On the following day, Alexander began to batter this wall, the more easily destructible as the work was fresh. While the besiegers were engaged in the labour of demolition, on the one hand, the garrison executed a sortie, and threw burning combustibles among the hurdles which covered the Macedonian works, and into one of the timber-framed turrets: but Philotas and Hellanicus, who had charge of the engines, checked the flames before they could spread; and the seasonable advance of Alexander so intimidated the enemy, that—the whole flinging away their torches, and some their arms—they

fled into the town with precipitation. But having regained their stations on the ramparts, the local and artificial advantages of Halicarnassus enabled them to repel their pursuers with ease; for the wall was so constructed, that the Macedonians could not attack any part, without being enfiladed on their flanks, as well as opposed in front.

The Persian leaders finding the siege so closely pressed, that each succeeding day abridged the limits of their operations, and knowing that the invader possessed inexhaustible perseverance, held a council to fix on some great proceeding suitable to the crisis. Ephialtes, eminent for personal strength and courage, descanted on the inconvenience and impolicy of submitting to be immured during a long siege. "Let us not," said he, "drag on this "tame, defensive course, till we lose the will "and power to resist, when we must fall, with "the town, a cheap prey to the enemy. While "we have yet some portion of strength, let us "strike a spirited blow against the besiegers "with the choicest of the hired Greeks. Does "this measure appear to be dictated by temerity? It is safe to execute; for the Macedonians expecting any thing sooner than such "an attack, taken unprepared, will fight in "confusion, and must be defeated." Memnon,

though accustomed to prefer the wary line of action, to alluring enterprise, did not endeavour to controul the Athenian; considering, that as no succour was at hand, no junction would be lost, nor the fatal event of the siege accelerated, even by the complete miscarriage of Ephialtes. He, therefore, deemed it not improper to try, in the extremity, what a determined man might effect, apparently inspired to the bold undertaking.

Ephialtes selected two thousand from among the whole body of Greeks; these he commanded to procure a thousand torches, and to be under arms by the break of day, prepared to execute his orders. Alexander, as soon as the morning dawned, advanced the engines against the half-moon wall: his zealous soldiers began vigorously to batter it: suddenly half the force under Ephialtes sallied from the town, with torches spreading conflagration among the Macedonian works, he in person following with the remainder to attack such of the besiegers as should endeavour to obstruct the incendiaries.

Alexander, on intelligence of this movement, speedily formed from his assembled army chosen bands of reinforcements: some he detached to put out the fire, while he himself advanced against the division under Ephialtes, solely occupied in combat. Ephialtes, who possessed

extraordinary vigor, killed all who engaged him hand to hand, animating his men by his eye and his voice, and more by his intrepid example. And the besiegers were not slightly annoyed from the walls; for the garrison had erected a tower a hundred cubits high, whence engines, judiciously planted, discharged javelins and stones. Meanwhile Memnon, with a body of troops, made an unexpected sally from the *Tripylon*, a different part of the town. Now, such a tumult was created in the Macedonian camp, by having various attacks to repel, that the king himself hesitated. But his comprehensive mind recovering itself, he met the accumulated danger by seasonable orders; and fortune favoured their execution. The sallying divisions who attempted to burn the engines, were repulsed with great loss by the Macedonian covering party, timely reinforced. Near the gate, Ptolemy, the son of Philip, commander of the body guard, supported by the two battalions of Addæus and Timander, received Memnon so warmly, that the Macedonians were decidedly the conquerors in that part of the field; notwithstanding Ptolemy*, a subaltern of the body guard, and Addæus were killed, with Clearchus, captain of the

* This Ptolemy must be distinguished, not only from the son of Philip, but from the son of Seleucus, who was not slain till the battle of Issus. Arrian, i. 23, states that he was of the body-guard.

archers, and about forty individuals in the ranks: the enemy, retreating in consternation, broke down the narrow bridge which they had constructed over the moat, the unhappy crowd upon it falling headlong: some were crushed to death by their comrades, others perished by darts from the overlooking Macedonian stations; numbers that escaped this calamity were destroyed at the entrance of the town; for the terrified inhabitants apprehending that the pursuers and the pursued would enter together, suddenly closed the gate against their friends, abandoning them to the fury of the victors. All this time, Ephialtes, formidable at first by confidence, and afterwards by desperation, maintained a fierce conflict with the troops under the king, and held the victory in suspense, till the Macedonian *senior* battalion moved to the aid of their distressed companions. These veterans, though encamping with the army, and receiving pay and rewards, were exempt from duty and danger, except in cases of the last necessity; their immunities and honours had been earned by a whole life of brave achievements begun in reigns preceding Philip's, and continued to the time of Alexander. These men, seeing their companions shrinking from the combat, and, among other symptoms of terror, alternately look to the rear, as if to

discover a place of retreat, advanced to their relief, under the command of Atharias: renewing the languid fight, they, by mixing with their exhortations to the younger bands, reproaches on account of their unsoldier-like irresolution revived their bravery: now, both classes uniting in a furious attack, each emulous to excel in inflicting fatal strokes upon the enemy; in one decisive instant victory declared for them. Ephialtes, with the bravest and largest portion of his men, were slain; and the rest were driven back upon the town. A great proportion of Macedonians entered with the fugitives, and the fortress was upon the point of being taken by storm, when the king gave orders to sound a retreat—either because he was disposed to spare the lives and property of the inhabitants, or because, as night was approaching, he apprehended danger from ambuscades in the unknown windings of the city; or because he had not learned the event of the different skirmishes and actions in the other parts of the field.

This battle consumed the most robust and courageous battalions of the garrison. This loss, and the breaches in the walls, made Memnon, and Orontobates, the governor, sensible, that much longer resistance was impossi-

Olymp. cxi. 3. *A. C.* 334. *Ætat. Alex.* 23. *Reg.* 3.

ble*. After deliberation with the other generals, they, to diminish the booty which would fall to the enemy, set fire, in the night-time, to the wooden tower, to the arsenal and magazines, and to the houses near the wall. The conflagration, fanned by the wind, spread in all directions. The Persian commanders had transported a part of the citizens, and their valuable effects, into the island of Cos. Their braver adherents among the inhabitants, they transported, with part of the military, to a castle seated on an island, while another division of them retired to Salmacis, another neighbouring castle.

Alexander had been apprised, by deserters, of some of these proceedings; at midnight, he witnessed the raging flames: he immediately sent a detachment to extinguish the fire, and to punish those who promoted it, but with strict orders to protect such of the townsmen as were found in their houses.

The following morning, he examined the fortified retreats of the enemy: Perceiving, that they could not be reduced without much loss of time, but that it was from the city of Halicarnassus that they derived importance, he re-

* Arrian, p. 22.

luctantly demolished the metropolis of Caria, that it might never thenceforth serve as a rallying point to the Persians.

Ptolemy Lagus was left to observe the castles, and to act in the country as the lieutenant of Alexander: he was instructed to support the authority of Ada, as queen of Caria *.

Not long afterwards, Ptolemy, uniting his three thousand infantry and two hundred cavalry with the forces of Asander, lieutenant of Lydia, defeated Orontobates. And the Macedonians, irritated by the protracted resistance of the castles, and disgusted with the tedious procedure by blockade, took them by assault.

The season of winter †, which often entirely suspends military operations, the king passed in proceedings to secure, and preparations to extend, his advantages. He detached Parmenio with the squadrons called the *friends* or *companions;* the auxiliary horse and the Thessalians, under Alexander Lyncestes, to Sardis, with orders, to make thence an irruption into Phrygia, and to collect, at the expense of the enemy, provisions and forage for the army expected from Macedon. A draughted body of soldiers, who had married shortly before the expedition,

* Ante, p. 234. Et vide Arrian, p. 23. † Arrian, ut supra.

including his captains Cænos and Meleager, he sent home, under the command of Ptolemy, the son of Seleucus, to winter with their wives; a measure which endeared Alexander to the army, and ensured the alacrity of his European subjects, in promoting and joining the levies for the expedition. He charged the officers, during their residence in Macedon, to be assiduous in raising recruits—to be marched into Asia in the spring, with the soldiers whom they had conducted home.

Here he had the affliction to observe, that his army was not uninfected with the depraving manners of the Asiatics, and that there were, in his camp, a great number of abandoned outcasts from nature: having collected them by a severe search, he deported them into a little island in the Ceramic gulf: The infamy which they communicated to the town is perpetuated by the name Cinædopolis.

CHAP. XI.

Alexander's progress in Lycia. Prodigy of the brazen tablet. Alexander halts in the territory of Phaselis: his demeanour before the statue of Theodectes. Conspiracy of Alexander Lyncestes. Passage from Phaselis to Perga. Alexander at a subsequent period visits Jerusalem.

ALEXANDER steadily prosecuted his plan of reducing the enemy's coast, in order to render their fleet ineffective. By the treachery of the Persian mercenary Greeks in the castle which awed the district of the Hyparni, he became master of the place and people. Afterwards advancing into Lycia, he received into his protection the Telmissians*. Having passed the Xanthus,—the town to which that river gives name, with Pinara, Patara, and thirty other inland towns or sea-ports, surrendered to him. About this time† the zeal and devotion

* Telmissus is a sea-port in Lycia, on the border of Caria. Cicero attributes it to Caria, *De Divinatione, lib.* 1. Compare with the note in p. 263, *infra.*

† This passage, transposed from book ii. chap. 8. of Freinshemius, is now unoffending with regard to chronology and geography; and however improbable the incident, which is derived from Plutarch, may still be deemed, the absurdity is avoided of making Alexander use it as an argument in *council.*

of his troops were stimulated by an opportune prodigy: a fountain near the city Xanthus boiled up, and threw up a brazen tablet engraved with ancient characters, signifying 'that 'the time was at hand, when the Persian em-'pire should be overthrown by the Greeks.'

While his lieutenant, Parmenio*, was traversing the internal parts of Lydia and Phrygia, the conqueror proceeded to Mylias, anciently comprehended in the Greater Phrygia, but united by the Persian monarchs to Lycia. While he was accepting the submission of the nearer tracts, ambassadors came to him from the Phaselians, and from various towns of Lower Lycia, presenting, on the part of each municipality, a crown of gold, as an earnest of amity and an expression of allegiance. Having sent detachments to occupy the subordinate towns of the Phaselians, and the other cities of Lycia, the king marched in person to Phaselis. The military force of that community had been long endeavouring to reduce a fortress, erected by the Pisidians on their territory: whence marauding bands had issued and committed great ravages: after Alexander's arrival, this fortress was soon taken. In the country of the Phaselians, he dedicated some days of repose to the

* Freins. transposit.

refreshment of himself and army; which was rendered necessary by the difficulties of marching along the roads in the severities of mid-winter.

Here, coming from a banquet at a moment when profuse libations had perceptibly exhilarated him; and happening to behold a statue which the inhabitants had erected to the memory of Theodectes; he recollected his friendship with that poet and orator, when they were fellow-pupils to Aristotle; he immediately proceeded to the monument, and went round it with the gesticulations of a dancer; depositing upon it several garlands of flowers. The extravagant elation into which the constant operation of success, and the transient influence of wine, had seduced him, if it had not subsided, was chastized and repressed by an alarming message from Parmenio. This vigilant officer had detected and apprehended Asisines, a Persian whom Darius had sent, invested with a public character, to Atyzies, governor of Phrygia, but with private instructions, "To obtain "a secret conference with Alexander Lyncestes, and promise him a thousand talents of "gold, with the kingdom of Macedon, if he "performed that which had been planned:" Alluding to the atrocious undertaking to assassinate the king to which the enemy had sub-

orned him, and he had pledged himself, while he and Amyntas were fugitives at the Persian court. This traitor, as malignant as corrupt, nurtured in his dissembling heart a personal animosity against Alexander, because the prince had condemned to death his brothers Heromenes and Arrabeus, as accessary to the murder of Philip. The life which he owed to the clemency *, and the honours to the generosity of his sovereign, were insufficient to excite his gratitude or preserve his allegiance; and the wicked ambition of possessing the crown, blinded him to his danger and his guilt.

When this affair was discussed in council, the confidential friends of Alexander animadverted on "that excessive facility of temper, "which could not only pardon the foulest "delinquencies, but heap on the delinquent "distinctions and employments, so far as to "allow him to command the chosen squadrons "of horse. What faithful servant would, dur-"ing the future, act loyally, if the king not "only exempted parricides from punishment, "but received them into favour, and conferred "upon them offices of the highest trust and "dignity? The indiscretion of such excessive "lenity it concerned the king timely to reme-

* Ante, p. 119.

" dy; for if Lyncestes should become aware " that he has been discovered, he will urge the " fluctuating Thessalians to revolt; nor could " any mischief be more perplexing, than their " defection would prove. Lastly; to contemn " the danger would be to slight the care of the " Deity, who had been pleased, by a superna- " tural occurrence, to admonish the king of the " treason." They alluded to an incident during the siege of Halicarnassus. While Alexander was asleep at mid-day, a swallow hovered round, perching now on one side of the couch, and now on the other. Its incessant chattering disturbed the king, exceedingly fatigued, and he brushed it off with his hand. Instead of endeavouring to escape, the bird, full of confidence, perched upon his head, and refused to be scared away, till, through its noise, Alexander thoroughly awoke. The prodigy was communicated to Aristander, who declared, ' That a ' conspiracy was formed against the king by ' one of his officers whom he treated as a friend, ' but that it would not remain undiscovered, ' because the swallow is a domestic bird, a ' friend to man, and exceedingly loquacious.'

Perceiving that this interpretation of the hierophant agreed with the disclosure of Asisines; and remembering that his mother had cautioned him in a letter " to beware of this man;"

the king, by the advice of his friends, decided against further confidence, or delay. He signified what he would have done to Parmenio—not in writing, lest, intercepted, it should unseasonably transpire; but transmitted verbal instructions by a trusty messenger of rank. Amphoterus, brother to Craterus, selected for the service, assumed a Phrygian habit, and, taking some Pergenses as guides, penetrated through the country to Parmenio. The unworthy Lyncestes is, in consequence, placed under arrest; and though respect for the ancient dignity of his family occasioned his punishment to be long respited; yet three years afterwards, when the conspirators with Philotas had suffered, he was arraigned, and precipitately executed on account of the affinity of his crime.

On his departure from Phaselis, the king divided the corps under his immediate command. A considerable detachment traversed the mountains of Lycia and Pamphilia, while the king in person pursued the dangerous track along the beach from Phaselis to Perga*. Here, the foaming sea, beating against the ladder of rocks denominated the Climax, renders the narrow road at their base impracticable, except when the surge is repelled by a strong north wind. When Alexander began his march, the wind blew from

* Gillies's *Grecce, chap.* 37 ; et Freins.

the south, yet he advanced without fear, confiding in his fortune. Before they reached that section of the road where the flood would have proved an insurmountable, or a fatal obstacle, the south wind died away, a brisk gale sprang up from the north, and the sea retired; leaving the army only some streams to ford which had been swelled by winter-torrents from the mountains. Many congruent events, of a singularly propitious character, in the life of Alexander, countenance those who explain his progress by referring it to the immediate interposition of Divine Providence, which, in effecting an important revolution in the Eastern world, rendered the operations of nature, and the volitions of man, subservient to its secret purposes*.

At Dium in Macedonia, before the son of Philip had begun to march on his expedition, at an hour when he was reposing under the mantle of sleep, a personage, in appearance more than human, exhorted him to follow the vision into Asia, where he should overthrow the Persian empire. The impression subsiding, lay dormant till the following transaction, which, were it related in the order of time,

* The diffusion of the Greek language in Asia, by preparing the natives of the East to understand the writings in which the acts and doctrines of Christ and his Apostles were recorded, must have greatly contributed to the rapid propagation of the Gospel, and to a deep and firm plantation of the principles of faith among the first Churches.

would belong to the fourth book of this history*. When Alexander was engaged in the siege of Tyre, he had demanded the submission of the neighbouring kings and commonwealths, requiring them to raise him soldiers. But the Jews, who held the famous city Jerusalem, alleging their alliance with Darius, declined to form a connexion with the king of Macedon. Incensed, he marched into Judæa, with a design to punish their contumacy. But the inhabitants of Jerusalem, to disarm the anger of the invader, went out, with their wives and children, to meet him in a suppliant manner. The priests were clothed in fine linen; the multitude, which walked after the priests, a long train, also wore garments of white; the high-priest, in his pontifical habit of purple and scarlet, headed the procession. Admiring the grandeur and pleasing effect of the scene, the king alighted from his horse, and advanced unattended: after he had saluted the high priest, he bent in adoration to the sacred name of God, which was engraven on a plate of gold in the front of the pontifical mitre. This unexpected act struck the spectators with astonishment: The Jews, who saw

* The narrative of Josephus has the high authority of M. de Sainte Croix; who, in the second edition of his work *On the History of Alexander*, has done all that ingenuity can effect to render at least the main facts of the common account credible.—*Monthly Review for Nov.* 1817, *p.* 250.—*See* ADDITIONAL NOTES (H.)

themselves not only delivered from imminent danger, but received into favour, surrounded the king, congratulating him, praising him, and offering up prayers for his prosperity: On the other hand, the minor kings of Syria, who, inveterate enemies of the Jews, had attended the king, hoping to have their hatred indulged, by the punishment of their foes, doubted whether they beheld a mortifying reality, or their senses were imposed on by a dream, or whether those of the king were suspended: The Macedonians were surprised at the extraordinary scene to such a degree, that Parmenio presumed to ask the king, 'Why he bestowed such great honour 'on the rites of a foreign religion, when it was 'scarcely becoming his greatness to notice the 'homage of so abject a nation?' The venerable and dignified air of the sacerdotal chief had reminded Alexander of his vision, which he now related to Parmenio*.

Conducted by the priests into the city, he, in their temple, a beautiful structure, offered sacrifices to the Great Supreme, according to the institutions revered by that race of people; and by magnificent benefactions he augmented

* He thus introduced this apology for the incident which had startled his attendants: "I did not adore the priest, but that God "who hath honoured him with his high-priesthood; for I saw this "very person in a dream, in this very habit, when I was at Dios in "Macedonia."—WHISTON'S *Josephus*, XI. viii. 5.

its treasures. He here inspected their sacred books*, in which were several ancient prophecies to this effect: That Tyre should be destroyed by the Macedonians, and that Persia should be overcome by a Greek. Contemplating himself as the person designated, he felt such high satisfaction, that he granted to the Jews the liberty of living—both at home and in other countries—according to their own laws and ceremonies; and because their land lies untilled every seventh year, he released them from a corresponding proportion of taxes. The conqueror admired the climate and the aspect of the country, which abounds with rich fruits and vegetable productions, and alone produces the flowing balm of Gilead. He appointed Andromachus governor of these provinces: but we must not proceed in anticipating transactions occurring about the time of the siege of

* Perhaps Jeremiah, xxv. 22; xlvii. 4; Amos, i. 9, 10; Zechariah, ix. 4; Ezekiel, xxvii. 36; with relation to Tyre;—the fall of Gaza is mentioned in the context of the majority of these predictions. There are other denunciations against Tyre in Isaiah and Ezekiel, but they evidently point at the first destruction of Tyre by the Assyrians.

The prophecy of Daniel [viii. 21.] respecting Persia—is more precise, in marking out the *instrument* of divine vengeance. And Josephus merely says: "When the book of Daniel was showed him, "wherein Daniel declared, that one of the Greeks should destroy "the empire of the Persians, he supposed that himself was the per-"son intended."

Tyre, satisfied if we are allowed, for the sake of illustration, to snatch a few particulars from a later period.

CHAP. XII.

Alexander's progress in Pamphylia: He punishes the treacherous Aspendians. Marching through Pisidia toward Phrygia, he subdues the Termessians and another tribe. The activity of Memnon in the Grecian islands: his death.

HAVING passed the narrow road at the edge of the Pamphylian sea, in advancing eastward from Perga, Alexander was met by ambassadors from Aspendus; they tendered the submission of that city and sea-port, but entreated that they might not be burdened with a garrison, offering for that exemption fifty talents towards the pay of his army, with as many horses as they had been accustomed to contribute to the king of Persia. On these terms, the conqueror received them to his allegiance.

He proceeded to the country of the Sidetæ, seated near the river Melas: a people from the stock of the Cumæans of Æolia, but Barbarians in their language, having lost their Greek—not indeed by gradual corruption proceeding during centuries of absence; for their ancestors are

represented, at their settlement in these regions, to have suddenly forgotten their native dialect, speaking a jargon before unknown.

Having accepted the surrender of Sidis, the metropolis of Pamphylia, he marched against Syllius, a fortress which its local and artificial strength, and the presence of a powerful garrison, would have rendered difficult to reduce. While he was surveying the walls, he was informed that the Aspendians, who delayed the performance of their treaty, perfidiously intended to revolt. The greater part of their city was founded on a high and steep rock, washed by the river Eurymedon; some of its streets were, however, built on the plain, protected only by a slight wall. Thither Alexander immediately marched; on his approach, the inhabitants of the lower town ascended the mountain. The king entered the place, encamping within the walls, while his able engineers began their demonstrations. The Aspendians, alarmed, entreated him to accept the former conditions. He required the instant delivery of the horses stipulated: and to punish their treachery and insolence, he raised the immediate aid to be yielded in money to one hundred talents, and imposed on them an annual tribute: he took their principal citizens as hostages that they would thenceforth obey his governor. He like-

wise ordered the Aspendians to abide the decision of an arbitration respecting a tract of land from which they had driven their neighbours.

Alexander now determined to return to Perga, thence to penetrate into Phrygia, where Parmenio had been directed to join him. In his march thither, he had to pass a narrow defile, near Termessus*, a city of the Pisidians. This streit is formed by two mountains which almost touch; its mouths are so confined, that they may be compared to gates; here the Barbarians had posted themselves, to dispute the passage. The leader of the Greeks and Macedonians encamped before the entrance, concluding that the Termessians seeing the tents pitched, would imagine the attack to be postponed, and leaving a small guard in the streit, their main body would retire into the town. The enemy acted as Alexander had anticipated. Seizing the opportunity, he ordered the archers and slingers to advance, with the middle-armed foot, or targeteers: having beat off those who

* The text of Freinshemius has here, and in the dependent passages, *Telmissus*, on the authority of Arrian.—"There can be little doubt that Arrian has improperly called the *Termessus* of Mount "Solymus, *Telmissus;* an inaccuracy which, uncorrected, throws much obscurity on his narrative."—*Journey through some Provinces of Asia Minor in the year* 1800, *by Lieut-col. Leake.*—*Walpole's Travels to various Countries of the East,* 1820, p. 280.

guarded the pass, he penetrated it, and encamped before Termessus.

Here, ambassadors from the Selgenses, a tribe of the same nation as the Termessians, from inveterate hatred to the latter, tendered their friendship and assistance to the king.

After entertaining these overtures with great courtesy,—that his time might not be consumed by the prosecution of a single siege, he encamped with a detachment before Sagalassus, a place well fortified, and garrisoned with the flower of the forces of the country; for of all the warlike Pisidian hordes, the Sagalassians are considered the bravest. Reinforced by troops from their allies the Termessians, and having more dependence on their courage than on their walls, they were posted in order of battle on a neighbouring hill. Advantages of ground enabled them to repulse the light-armed forces of Alexander: the Agrians, however, steadily maintained the conflict, encouraged by the approach of the Macedonian phalanx, and fired by seeing the king in front of the colours. The soldiers had to surmount great difficulties in forcing their way up the acclivity; but as soon as a field with less inequalities allowed them firmer footing, they easily dispersed the imperfectly-armed mountaineers.

There fell on the part of the Macedonians, Cleander, a leader, and twenty soldiers in the ranks. In the battle; and in the pursuit, which the Macedonians urged with much celerity for troops so completely armed—five hundred Barbarians were slain: local knowledge sheltered the rest in inaccessible retreats.

Having entered their deserted town, he directed his arms against the other strong-holds of Pisidia, of which he reduced some by force, while others submitted under conditions, promising fidelity.

He razed Termessus on account of its contumacious opposition, and divested the inhabitants of liberty: a little afterwards he united their territory, with that of several other Pisidian cities, under the government of Celæna, a Phrygian province.

Having triumphed over the difficulties of the country, and the undisciplined fierceness of its various tribes, Alexander pursued his march into Phrygia, by the lake Ascanius. The waters of this lake crystallize spontaneously, supplying those who live on its borders with salt.

Between the siege of Halicarnassus and these transactions, Memnon, after having evacuated all Caria, and collected the scattered fragments of his army, conceived the design of carrying the war into Greece and Macedonia, proposing

by that diversion, to move Alexander from the provinces which he had fastened on in Asia. On Memnon alone now rested the hopes of Darius, who reviewed with satisfaction the bravery and talents with which that commander had, at the capital of Caria, kept Alexander so long in check: he therefore constituted him commander-in-chief, and transmitted him a liberal reinforcement in money. Memnon, with a fleet of three hundred ships, having on-board as many mercenary troops as he could procure with the subsidy, traversed the seas without opposition. He had weighed the circumstances likely to promote or obstruct his designs: he reduced the continental towns where the garrisons were weak or negligent, among which was Lampsacus: and as the Macedonians, at once masters of both continents and destitute of a fleet, were unable to succour the islands, against the islands he principally directed his active operations.

Divisions of opinion, which made almost all men partizans, powerfully availed Memnon in his enterprize. Those who had been won to Alexander's interest by the liberty in which he had reinstated them, were counteracted by those who, having amassed great riches under the Persians, preferred the possession of individual influence, under their former masters, to the

equality of an unattempered democracy. In the island of Chios, Athenagoras and Apollonides, two of the most considerable men, in concert with Phisinus and Megareus, and others of their faction, invited Memnon thither. Thus was Chios transferred to the Persian high-admiral* and maritime satrap, who, leaving a garrison in the place, committed the administration of affairs to Apollonides and his associates.

Memnon sailed thence to Lesbos; where he possessed himself of Antissa, Pyrrha, and Erissus, with little difficulty: having reduced Methymna, he established there Aristonicus as regent. Of the whole island, no place now held out except the celebrated city of Mytilene, which Memnon did not live to take; for just after he had encompassed the walls with extensive works, shut up the harbour, and so disposed his ships as to exclude succour, he fell a victim to the plague. The irreparable loss of such a leader repressed the sanguine hopes, and blighted the rising plans of the Persians.

Memnon, on perceiving the approach of dissolution, had resigned to Pharnabasus, his sister's son by Artabasus, the command provisionally, till Darius, on a report of the occurrence, should decree otherwise. Pharnabasus, dividing the duties of the siege with Autophra-

* Ante, p. 231.

dates the admiral, so pressed the city, that at length it surrendered on terms: "The garrison "shall depart unmolested. The pillars on "which are carved the conditions of allegiance "to Alexander shall be thrown down. The "citizens shall take an oath of fidelity to Darius, "recal the exiles, and restore half their effects." But the Persians did not strictly observe the capitulation: into the city they introduced soldiers, making Lycomedes, the Rhodian, its governor; over the rural districts they placed, as regent, Diogenes, who had been banished on account of his devotion to the Persian interest. Afterwards they levied forced contributions in money from the richest inhabitants, without lightening the tax which the common people of Mytilene had formerly paid. The insolence and oppression* by which the officers of Darius irritated and estranged the islanders, conspired with the vigilance of Antipater to defeat all their plans and movements.

* *Gillies* after *Arrian.*

QUINTUS CURTIUS.

BOOK III.

THE CONQUEST OF ASIA MINOR COMPLETED.—THE BATTLE OF ISSUS.

CHAP. I.

Alexander reduces Celæna. Refuses to liberate the Athenian prisoners. Cuts the Gordian knot. Puts in motion sea and land forces on the Hellespont. Transmits to his domestic lieutenants aid in money. Enters Paphlagonia.

* 1. ALEXANDER, in the meantime, had despatched Cleander, with a sum of money, to enlist a subsidiary force in the Peloponnesus. Having created administrations for Lycia and Pamphylia, he conducted his army to Celæna,

* The Arabic numerals, before paragraphs in the text, mark sections of the chapters.

a walled city, which was intersected by the stream of the Marsyas. This river is celebrated by the fictitious origin ascribed to it by the Greek poets. Its spring, poured from the extreme summit of a mountain, falls, a roaring cataract, upon the rock beneath: whence it glides, a dilated flood, over contiguous levels, bearing along only its own pellucid waters. Its face resembles that of a calm sea: and the poets fabled that nymphs loiter in the recesses of the rock, enamoured with the beauty of the river. While it flows between the ramparts, it retains the name of the Marsyas; but after leaving the town, swelled into a more copious and rapid stream, it is called the Lycus*.

Alexander entered Celæna, which had been deserted by the inhabitants, and prepared to attack the citadel into which they had fled. He apprized them by a herald, that unless they submitted, they must expect the utmost severities: they led the herald up into a tower,

* Here the commentators recognize a slight error. Curtius confounds the Lycus, a river distant 250 stadia from the site of Celæna, with the Marsyas: the former, rising in mount Cadmus, washes Laodicea, (founded since the time of Alexander,) and falls into the Meander, about 400 stadia below the Marsyas. "The Marsyas has "been styled the most transparent river in Phrygia; and THE CATA-"RACT, from its falling down the rock with a mighty noise."—*Travels in Asia Minor; by Richard Chandler, D. D. edit.* 1776. vol. ii. p. 237.

which nature and skilful engineers had combined to render strong, bidding him survey its height, and inform Alexander, 'That the inhabitants differed from him in their estimate of the fortress: that they knew it to be impregnable; and that, in maintaining their allegiance, they would not shrink from death.' But, when enclosed by the besieging forces, perceiving that scarcity gained upon them every day, they negociated a truce for two months, engaging, if not relieved during that time by Darius, to deliver up the place. No succour arriving, they surrendered on the appointed day.

2. Here, ambassadors from Attica, requested the enlargement of such Athenians as had been taken at the battle of the Granicus. The king replied, "Not those only, but all the other "Greek captives I will restore to their homes, "when the Persian war shall be ended."

Alexander knew that Darius had not yet passed the Euphrates; yet, impatient to meet him, he summoned his levies and recalled his detachments, in order that, with all his forces, he might come to a decisive action. His army he was now conducting through Magna Phrygia, which abounded with villages, but had few cities. Yet Gordium, anciently the splendid

court of Midas, was still accounted a city: with the river Sangarius flowing through it, it is seated at an equal distance from the Euxine and the Cilician* sea. Between these seas we find the narrowest part of Asia Minor, both compressing the land into an isthmus: which region is connected with the continent, and yet, from the greater part being surrounded with water, is almost an island; for were not a slender separation interposed, the two seas, which are now divided, would meet†.

Alexander, having added the citizens of Gordium to the number of his subjects, entered the temple of Jupiter, where they showed

* According to the best modern maps, this is not a good clue to the site of Gordium; it is represented to be about one hundred and fifty miles, travelling distance, from the Euxine, and two hundred and eighty from the Cilician coast. In stating that it was intersected by the Sangarius, Strabo agrees with Curtius.

† *Arctas fauces*, applied to the space between the shores, has been censured: it seems a sufficient apology for Curtius, to consider that a tract of much greater breadth may be an isthmus, provided it connect with the main-land a peninsula of correspondent magnitude. But the *nisi tenue discrimen objiceret, maria, quæ nunc dividit, committeret*, of the original, is in this respect inaccurate, that it conveys the idea of positive tenuity, not of relative narrowness, contrasted with the body of the continent.—*Transl.* — Herodotus reckoned the Isthmus to be five journeys only across: but it is more than four degrees. Eratosthenes allows 3000 stadia, which is nearly the truth. Pliny almost 100 Roman miles too little. Even D'Anville has made it too narrow by about a degree.—RENNELL'S *Retreat of the Ten Thousand*.

him the car of Gordius, father to Midas*. There was nothing in the workmanship of this rude vehicle to distinguish it from one for common purposes. But the yoke was remarkable for the labyrinth of cord which held it; so involved was this with itself, that, in the multiplied loops, the real knot could not be discovered. Alexander, informed by the inhabitants that the oracle had conferred the empire of Asia on the

* The age of Gordius is referred to a time of remote antiquity, antecedent to regular history: the tradition respecting him is shortly this:—Born in Phrygia, he for some time resided there: his whole property consisted of a small piece of land, and two yokes of oxen; one employed in his plough, the other in his waggon. While he was one day ploughing, an eagle alighted on his yoke, and sat there till evening. Struck by the prodigy, Gordius repaired to the Telmissians, celebrated for their skill in augury. On reaching their first village, he met a virgin drawing water at a fountain: informed of the motive for his journey, she directed him to ascend the hill, and sacrifice to Jupiter; he invited her to accompany him, and they proceeded to the temple together. He afterwards married her, and she bore him Midas, who grew into repute for beauty and valour: Gordius is understood to have settled among the Telmissians. About the time Midas attained manhood, Phrygia was convulsed with sedition; the inhabitants, consulting an oracle, were told that a car should soon bring them a king who would appease their tumults. While the assembly were deliberating on this answer, Midas, with his parents, arrived in the car. The Phrygians elected him king; and Midas, in gratitude to Jupiter, consecrated his father's vehicle, suspending it in the temple by a cord made of the inner rind of the cornel tree, *the* knot *of which was so nicely tied, that no eye could perceive where it began or ended.* This cause of the difficulty of untying it, which is that assigned by Arrian, seems not so reasonable as the account of Curtius: the intricacy of the knot, as described in the text, is an adequate cause.

man who should untie the harness, felt a vehement desire to fulfil the prophecy.

3. Round the king was a concourse of Phrygians and Macedonians: those urged by impatient expectation, these concerned at the temerity of their prince; for the series of knots was so perplexed, that it was impossible to perceive, or to infer, where it began or ended. Alexander, after a long struggle with the intricate crossings of the cord, apprehending that his failure would be regarded as an inauspicious omen, exclaimed: "It is immaterial how the "knots are lossened:" and cut them asunder with his sword, either eluding or fulfilling the designation of the oracle*.

Alexander resolved to anticipate Darius in commencing the attack, wherever the latter might be posted; and, in order to provide for the security of the places in his rear, constituted Amphoterus commander of the fleet, and Hegelochus general of the land-forces, on the coast of the Hellespont. These officers he ordered to expel the Persian garrisons from Lesbos, Chios, and Cos; confiding to their expenditure five hundred talents. To Antipater, and the superintendants of the Greek cities, he transmitted

* The followers of Alexander retired with a conviction, that he had accomplished this task for a king. Arrian says, that a seasonable thunder-storm confirmed their credulity.

six hundred talents. The Greeks, as his allies, he required to guard the Hellespont by a fleet, conformably to treaty. For as he had not been yet apprized of the death of Memnon, he made that general the chief object of his vigilance, persuaded, that if the expedition met with obstructions, they would proceed from him.

Arrived at Ancyra, Alexander now mustered his army. He, next, entered Paphlagonia: from the bordering Eneti, some believe the Venetians to have descended. The inhabitants of this whole region readily submitted to the king; giving him hostages; and he confirming the exemption from tribute which they had enjoyed under the Persians*. He committed the government of their country to Calas; and, reinforced by the recent levies from Macedon, marched into Cappadocia.

CHAP. II.

Darius musters his army near Babylon. Its force. He marches to the plains of Mesopotamia. The free advice of Charidemus offends Darius, who orders his execution.

4. THE news of Memnon's death affected Darius in an intense degree, corresponding to

* The cause of this immunity is specified in the *Narrative Sketch of the Successors of Alexander*, [subjoined to this translation, vol. ii. p. 448.] sect. 6.

the magnitude of the loss. Resigning all other dependence, he determined to take the field in person. Dissatisfied with all their operations, he imputed negligence to most of the surviving generals; and he knew, unhappily, that they had been uniform in their failures. Having, therefore, pitched a camp near Babylon, in order to raise the spirits and confidence of his soldiers, he assembled them in sight of the city. Having carried an intrenchment round such a space as would hold ten thousand men; he, in imitation of Xerxes, used it as a scale to number his army. From sunrise to nightfall, the battalions, according to their order in the line, kept moving into this enclosure; as they evacuated it, advancing to the plains of Mesopotamia*.

This almost innumerable multitude of horse and foot exceeded in appearance their absolute amount. Of Persians, there mustered one hundred thousand, comprising thirty thousand cavalry. The Medes consisted of ten thousand horse and fifty thousand foot. From Barcania had marched two thousand horsemen, and ten thousand footmen, alike armed with two-edged battle-axes, and light, short, square bucklers. The Armenians contributed seven thousand

* The immensity of the army is strongly illustrated, by being thus, as Dr. Gillies expresses, "rather measured than numbered."

cavalry and forty thousand infantry. The Hyrcanians, of high military reputation among these nations, furnished six thousand horse. The Derbicæ, with two thousand horse, had equipped forty thousand foot; of which, a majority carried spears pointed with iron; and the remainder, pikes of wood, hardened in the fire. From the Caspian Sea there had assembled two hundred cavalry and eight thousand infantry: the Asiatics of less note, accompanying these, amounted to four thousand cavalry, and half the number of infantry. To the force already enumerated, are to be added thirty thousand Greek mercenaries, selected young men*. With regard to the Bactrians, Sogdians, and Indians; with various tribes on the borders of the Red Sea, whose names were unknown to Darius; the despatch which the crisis demanded, would not permit him to send for them.

* The aggregate of the numbers, as given by Curtius, is 311,200.

	Cavalry.	*Infantry.*
Persians	30,000	70,000
Medes	10,000	50,000
Barcanians	2,000	10,000
Armenians	7,000	40,000
Hyrcanians	6,000	.....
Derbicæ	2,000	40,000
Caspians	200	8,000
Small Tribes	4,000	2,000
Greeks	.....	30,000
	61,200	250,000

5. It is evident, that in numerical force the Persian monarch was not deficient. To him this vast multitude was a gratifying spectacle: and his nobles, by their habitual flatteries, so inflated his expectations, that, turning to Charidemus, an Athenian, of military talents, and a personal enemy of Alexander, (Alexander had ordered his expulsion from Athens,) he inquired of him, 'Whether his preparations must not 'be judged adequate to overwhelm the enemy?' Charidemus, undazzled by the splendours of royalty, and unintimidated by the consciousness of his situation, thus replied: "Perhaps, "Sir, the truth may displease you; and yet, if "I do not impart it now, it will be in vain for "me to mention it hereafter. This army, so "powerful in show, this immense assemblage "of so many different nations, comprising levies from all the regions of the East, may be "formidable to the tribes under your frontiers: "its purple and gold ornaments are so dazzling, "its riches so imposing, its arms so refulgent, "that those only who have been spectators, "can frame an idea of it. But the Macedonian army, however repulsive to the eye, and "unadorned, is a chain of columns, covered "with bucklers, and pointed with spears, rendered immovable through the united powers "of the men. Their phalanx is a firm body of

" foot: the combatants and their arms being " articulated in the closest order, every indivi- " dual contributes to support the whole. They " are disciplined to follow the colours, and fall " into the ranks at a signal. All obeying the " word of command at the same moment, the " common soldiers, expert as the officers, halt, " wheel, extend the wings, or change the order " of battle. That you may not suppose they " are to be seduced either by silver or gold, " I will describe their discipline in the school " of poverty: when fatigued, the ground is " their bed; with whatever food they are sup- " plied, they are contented; they sleep not " after the approach of day. Now, with regard " to the Thessalian horse, the Acarnanians, and " the Ætolians, they form invincible bands; " and can I believe that they are to be repelled " with slings, and wooden pikes hardened in " the fire? No, Sir, they are to be opposed " only by vigour equal to their own; and you " should seek auxiliaries in the country which " produced these men; send, therefore, those " treasures of silver and gold to hire thence a " subsidiary army." Darius was naturally mild and open to advice, before the elevation which his fortunes experienced had corrupted his heart. Unable to bear the truth*, he

* With the truth, Charidemus mixed some sophistical over-

violated the laws of hospitality, and commanded his guest and suppliant, in the middle of this useful strain, to be hurried away to execution. Not deterred by this order from delivering his sentiments freely, he told the king: "I see at hand an avenger of my death; and "he, against whose interest my counsel has "been directed, will chastise thee for slighting "it; and thou, so transformed by recent ac- "cession to imperial greatness, will be an "example to succeeding ages, that men who "allow prosperity to intoxicate them may "forget their own nature." While he was making this declaration, the executioners cut his throat. Afterwards, the Persian monarch, repenting too late, acknowledged that the Athenian had spoken the truth, and ordered him to be buried.

colouring; and there was much absurdity in the time and manner. When we reflect on the profligate character of the speaker, we may wonder at his plainness; the most virtuous plainness might have better served an inflated despot, by calling to its aid more grace and address, and by avoiding to overcharge the weaknesses pointed ou

CHAP. III.

Darius makes Thymodes commander of the mercenaries; and confides to Pharnabazus the defunct powers of Memnon. His dream. Order of march and pageantry of his army: contrasted with the army of Alexander.

6. TO Thymodes, the son of Mentor, a young man who had proved himself an active officer, Darius gave a commission to receive from Pharnabazus all the foreign troops; for the king having much reliance on these, allotted them an important part in the war. He confided to Pharnabazus the extensive command and powers, which Memnon had exercised*.

Darius, whom incessant attention to important affairs agitated to extreme anxiety, was directed to the contemplation of future disasters by several dreams, occasioned either by melancholy, or by a prophetic faculty in his mind. He sees the Macedonian camp enveloped with spires of glittering flame; and soon afterwards, Alexander, introduced to him in that habit which he himself wore when chosen king: then Alexander, riding through Babylon—together with his horse, suddenly vanishes. The discordant intimations which

* Ante, p. 231 and 267.

the soothsayers drew from this vision, increased the perplexity of the Persian monarch. Some held the picture which had impressed his imagination to be auspicious, because the enemy's camp was on fire; and, because Alexander, divested of his regal attire, had been brought to him in the dress of a Persian subject. Others, construing it differently, affirmed, that the brightness of the Macedonian camp portended splendour to Alexander, who (to avow their opinion,) would be seated on the throne of Asia, because his garb was similar to that in which Darius had been saluted king. The present solicitude, on this, as on other occasions, turned awakened recollection to former presages. When Darius, at the beginning of his reign, had caused the Persian scabbard to be modelled after the Grecian form*,—the Chaldæans had prognosticated that the empire of the Persians should pass into the possession of the people whose arms were imitated.

* Some who understand the *mutari in eam* formam *qua Græci uterentur* of the original, to signify a change in the *shape* of the scabbard, not merely in its materials, discover a difficulty in the passage, because it then implies a similarity of length and curvature between the Persian scimitar and Grecian sword. Now, Diodorus asserts, that, after the battle of Issus, Darius ordered swords and spears of an increased length to be manufactured, because he attributed the victory of the Macedonians to the superior length of their swords. But it might have been a Lacedæmonian, Athenian, or Theban scabbard which Darius before introduced.

The king himself, however, caused the answer of the diviners to be circulated in the camp; and becoming at length elated by the agreeable interpretation which his dream would bear, ordered the army to move towards the Euphrates.

7. From remote antiquity, it was the custom of the Persians not to break up their camp till after sunrise, when a trumpet from the king's tent gave the signal: at the same moment, elevated so that all might perceive it, the image of the sun, [of burnished gold,] cased in crystal, glittered at the top of the pavilion.

The army marched in this order. The fire which they call sacred and eternal, was borne in the van on silver altars. Some *Magi* followed, singing the national hymn. These were succeeded by three hundred and sixty-five youths, clothed in scarlet, answering to the number of days in the year; for the Persian year is also thus divided. Next in the procession came the chariot consecrated to Jupiter, which was drawn by white horses; and was followed by a horse of extraordinary magnitude, distinguished as the *steed of the sun:* the officers managing the horses carried golden wands, and wore white habits. At a small distance, were drawn ten chariots, with a profusion of engraved work in silver and gold. Prolonging

and diversifying the train, rode the cavalry of twelve nations, each division in a peculiar costume, and with different arms. Then succeeded the corps whom the Persians name the *Immortals**, amounting to ten thousand: none of the Barbarians exceeded these in the pomp of superb equipment: the chains hanging from their necks, like the embroidery on their uniform, were of gold; and their SLEEVED-JACKETS† glittered with jewels. After a small space appears a train bearing the title of the *king's relations*, consisting of fifteen thousand men; this assemblage, attired almost like women, were more remarkable for sumptuous dresses, than for beautiful armour. The next column to these had the name *Doryphori*, accustomed to guard the royal wardrobe. They marched before the car of the king; this bore Darius in person, conspicuous by his elevated seat: Each side of the car was enriched with figures of the gods, cast in silver and gold; sparkling gems embossed the beam, from which sprang two golden statues a cubit high, of which one pre-

* Composed of the bravest and most distinguished soldiers, the corps received this name, because casual vacancies were regularly supplied by new members: its strength was never suffered to fall below the number in the text.

† In the first ages of the Roman republic, it had been considered a mark of effeminate luxury for a man to walk out with a sleeved garment.

sented the lineaments of Ninus, the other of Belus,—and between these, a golden eagle, consecrated, [for an ensign,] expanded its wings*.

8. Amidst all these pageantries, the king's dress displayed sovereign magnificence. The field of his vest was purple interwoven with white; on his mantle, embroidered with gold, were depicted two hawks flying at each other, with their beaks crossed†. He wore a golden girdle, in the ladies' fashion; and the scabbard to the depending sabre was studded with jewels. The regal costume for the head is by the Persians termed a *cidaris:* round this tiara‡, went a turban of azure-blue, relieved with white‖.

The king was encompassed, on the right and left, by about two hundred of his nearest

* Xenophon states, that the royal ensign was a golden eagle, with its wings resting upon a spear.

† *Hawks.*] Kai Kobad, the founder of the Kaianian dynasty, when on the eve of being invited to assume the sovereignty by Zal, general of the Cabul army, and his son Roostum, dreamt that the crown of Persia was placed upon his head by two white hawks.—Malcolm's *Persia*, vol. i. p. 31.

‡ Curtius has not mentioned the very elevated shape of the tiara. "It is the prerogative of the king to wear an upright turban."

Spelman's *Cyrus.*

‖ *Hoc* cœrulea *fascia alba distincta circumibat.* This is inconsistent with lib. vi. 6. unless *cæruleus* and *purpureus* are sometimes promiscuously used.—See Ovid. *Metam.* xii. 211.

relatives. The royal car was followed by ten thousand spear-men, carrying lances adorned with silver, and javelins headed with gold*. Now came the files of thirty thousand infantry: upon whom closed four hundred household cavalry. At the distance of one hundred and twenty-five paces, Sysigambis, the mother of Darius, appeared in the procession; and, near her, the consort of Darius, in separate chariots: the train of women waiting on the queens rode on horses. Next advanced fifteen *armamaxas*†, or roofed-carriages, in which were the king's children, and their tutors, with a number of eunuchs, a class not despised in Eastern countries. The line was continued by vehicles, in which were three hundred and sixty of the king's concubines, whose dress and ornaments partook of imperial grandeur. Six hundred mules, with three hundred camels, followed; bearing the king's money, under the charge of

* Respecting the meaning of *spicula*, see reasons for a varied translation in ADDITIONAL NOTES (I).

† In addition to our former procession, we had a *takhteravan*, or litter, in which the nurse and the Ambassador's infant were conveyed. It consists of a *cage of lattice work, covered over with cloth, borne by two mules, one before, the other behind* [harnessed to poles like those of a sedan]; and conducted by two men, one of whom rides on a third mule in front, and the other generally walks by the side. Perhaps this may resemble the vehicle called *Armamaxa*, in which the children of Darius and their attendants were carried.—MORIER's *Second Journey through Persia*, p. 113.

a guard of archers. Then, the wives of the relatives and friends of the sovereign. Then, columns of suttlers and camp-slaves. The light-armed troops brought up the rear. Such was the army of Darius.

Whoever surveyed the army of Alexander, in the order of march, found a different spectacle; neither the men nor the horses glittered—with gold or painted trappings, but with iron and brass. His troops were always prepared either to halt or to advance; not a crowd encumbered with baggage;—but a body attentive to the general's signal, and obedient even to his nod. The Macedonian leader was careful timely to collect supplies, and to encamp where he had sufficient room. Hence, in battle, he appeared not to want soldiers: whereas Darius, who had the absolute disposal of an immense multitude, was rendered incapable, by the confined limits of the place where he fought, to bring into the front more than the small number which he had despised in the enemy.

CHAP. IV.

While Alexander is marching toward Cilicia, Arsanes, the Persian satrap, devastates that province. Description of the Northern pass from Cappadocia, and of the river Cydnus. Alexander advances to Tarsus.

9. MEANWHILE—Abistamenes having been appointed governor of Cappadocia,—the Macedonian king, leading his army towards Cilicia, had already reached the district called *Cyrus's camp:* at this station Cyrus* halted when marching into Lydia against Crœsus. It is fifty stadia distant from the defile which leads into Cilicia: this narrow pass, which the inhabitants name the *Gates*, by its natural construction resembles the bulwarks piled by the hand of man.

Upon intelligence of Alexander's approach, Arsanes, governor of Cilicia, revolving the proposition of Memnon at the commencement of the war, now executed it when the measure was too late to be salutary; ravaging Cilicia with fire, and the *axe*, that the enemy might

* Arrian's explanation of this name is to be preferred; which, in unison with Xenophon's account, makes the younger Cyrus encamp here. None of the authors who treat of the expedition of the elder Cyrus against Crœsus represent him to have held this course.

enter a desert; destroying every thing useful, that he might abandon, in unproductive nakedness, that territory which he could not defend. But it had been far more availing to occupy the narrow streit opening into Silicia, with a strong guard, and to take timely possession of the cliffs commanding the road, whence he might, with impunity, have either repulsed or crushed an invader. The satrap, however, leaving a weak company in the pass, returned to devastate that country which it was his office to protect from plunderers. This induced the party left, conceiving themselves betrayed, not even to wait till the enemy came in sight, though the post was tenable by a smaller number. For Cilicia is enclosed by a continued chain of craggy and steep mountains; which, rising from the sea, is prolonged in the form of a bow till it reaches the coast again at the opposite angle. Through this ridge there are three passes, craggy and extremely confined; by one of which, in that part which recedes inward, the farthest from the sea*, is Cilicia entered [from the north].

* *Per hoc dorsum*, qua maxime introrsum mari cedit, *asperi tres aditus et perangusti sunt, quorum uno Cilicia intranda est.* The Original is so far entangled by the turn of expression in one comma, that it seems to predicate of all the passes, that they intersect that curvature of the ridge which is farthest from the sea. Only the pass from Cappadocia is in that part. The two remaining passes—the streits of Amanus leading eastward to Commagena, by which there

That part of Cilicia which lies toward the sea, is level, and is watered by multiplied streams, of which the most celebrated are the rivers Pyramus and Cydnus.

10. The Cydnus is not so remarkable for breadth as for the clearness of its water: descending gently from the source, it is received on a bright bed; nor do any torrents fall into it, to disturb the placid stream: while it thus flows unmixed, and translucent as its own fountains, all the way to the sea, the water is deeply shaded by the pleasant scenery on the banks; hence it is chillingly fresh.

Though time had dissolved many ancient monuments of Cilicia, of which the splendid fame survives in the poets, yet the contemplatist might still behold the ruins of the cities Lyrnessus and Thebes*, or descend into the

was a circuitous road to Syria, and the streits of Syria, directly communicating with that province—are nearer to the sea; and the last so near as to give name to a harbour. As Curtius, *infra*, cap. vii. 16, 17, 19, conducts Alexander and Darius in perfect accordance with their true locality, I believe his intention here was only to mark the position of that pass at which Alexander has arrived, and that the comma " in that part which recedes inward the farthest from the sea," is misplaced by some error of the old transcribers. The simple alteration of transposing it a line lower reconciles the passage with Strabo, *lib.* xiv. and with modern travels.

* These places are not in Cilicia Proper: but in the time of Cicero, the government of Cilicia comprized Cilicia Proper, Pisidia, Lycaonia, Isauria, and part of Phrygia. It is said that [the sites of] Thebes and Lyrnessus are to be seen between Phaselis and Attalia;

cave of Typhon. The Corycian grove is interesting to the naturalist, because it still produces saffron of superior quality: while most of the other local curiosities have only a traditional existence.

Alexander now entered the jaws of the ridge which is called the *Gate*. Having surveyed the positions about the narrow places*, never, it is said, was he more astonished at his good fortune; confessing, 'That his army 'might have been overwhelmed with massy 'stones, had there been hands to propel them 'on the passengers underneath†.' The avenue would scarcely admit four armed men to march abreast‡; the ridge of the rock hung projecting over the track, which was not only confined, but in many places broken up by the numerous

and Callisthenes informs us, that part of the Trojan Cilices were driven from the plain of Thebe into Pamphylia.—STRABO.

* That is both of the contracted openings, and commanding heights.

† I do not understand Alexander as alluding to loose crags lying there by accident,—but to a line of large stones at the edge of the precipice, prepared for dislodgment. The ground for this opinion may be seen in vol. ii. p. 22, note.

‡ It was only wide enough to admit a single chariot. XENOPH. l. i.

A party from Capt. B.'s frigate, who had penetrated to Tarsus, twelve miles from the coast, were informed by an Armenian that this pass *now* admits about eight horses abreast; it had been cut through the rock to the depth of about forty feet; the marks of the tools are still visible at the sides.—BEAUFORT'S *Karamania*. London, 1817. p. 264.

meandering rivulets which spring from the bases of the hills.

The leader of the Greeks and Macedonians, therefore, ordered the light-armed Thracians to lead the van, and to penetrate into all the ways, lest an ambuscade of the enemy should surprize the forces marching through. He also detached a company of archers to occupy the summit of the mountain, instructing them to advance with their bows bent, not as in a march, but an engagement. In this order, he reached the city of Tarsus, which the Persians had fired, expecting that that seat of opulence must fall to the invader. But the king, who had sent Parmenio forward with a light detachment to arrest the conflagration, apprised that the enemy had fled on the approach of his men, entered the town which he had saved from destruction.

CHAP. V.

The king, bathing in the Cydnus, is seized with a sudden illness.

11. THE river Cydnus, above described, flows through this city. It was then summer; in which season no climate is more sultry than that of Cilicia, from torrid exhalations sus-

pended by the sun*; and it was the hottest time of the day. The clearness of the stream invited the king to lave the sweat and dust from his over-heated frame. Having, therefore, taken off his dress, he, in the sight of the army, (conceiving it would be a worthy trait, to show that he was satisfied with those personal accommodations which were in the reach of all,) went into the river. He had hardly entered it, when a sudden tremor seized his limbs, he turned pale, the vital heat almost forsook his body. Like one expiring, he was taken out by his attendants, who carried him, in a state of insensibility, to his tent†.

The camp, afflicted almost as deeply as mourners for the dead, lamented with tears their leader. "In the midst of a rapid course "of victory, the brightest military genius of "any age is snatched from us, losing his life— "not in battle, penetrated by the weapons of "the enemy, but bathing securely in a placid

* As the heat of the weather increased, so did a dense white haze.—BEAUFORT'S *Karamania*, p. 270.

† In the year 1190, the emperor Frederick I. of Germany, surnamed *Barbarossa*, was tempted by the intense heat of the climate to bathe in the Calycadnus, a neighbouring river; and either owing to its coldness, or the violence of the current, was drowned. He had conducted an army of 150,000 men to co-operate in the Crusade against Saladin. After surmounting many difficulties, he had just forced the pass of Mount Taurus, and was on the eve of complete success, when he thus lost his life at the age of 69.

" river. Darius, who is approaching, will have " all the advantages of a conqueror without " having met his antagonist. As a vanquished " army, we must retrace our steps over those " countries which we have recently subdued. " Should no enemy harass our retreat through " tracts which we, or the Persian commanders, " have desolated, yet famine and every want " will cause us to perish in these immense un- " peopled wilds. Who will conduct our re- " turn? Who will presume to command us, " after Alexander? Admit we reach the Hel- " lespont, who will provide a fleet to transport " us across?" Then regretting Alexander on his own account, they exclaimed, " That flower " of youthful kings has drooped; death hath " silently crushed that athletic spirit, our great " leader and companion in arms!"

12. Meanwhile the king began to breathe more freely, to open his eyes, and, by degrees, recovering his senses, to know his attendants: but his malady seemed only in this particular abated, that he was conscious of its violence. The morbid state of his body oppressed his mind, when contemplating the consequences. Having received information that Darius was but five days' march from Cilicia*, he com-

* Darius, in his progress from Mesopotamia, lay a long while encamped on the plain of Sochos; where his first design was to wait for Alexander: hence it was nearly two months before he reached Issus.

plained, that he should be delivered, bound, to the enemy,—and that having an opportunity for complete victory snatched out of his hands, he should die obscurely and ignobly in his tent. Having summoned to his presence as well his friends as his physicians, he spoke to this effect. " You perceive the critical situation of affairs " in which fortune has surprised me. I already " hear the rattling of the enemy's arms: and " I, who have been hitherto the assailant, am " challenged by him to the battle. When Da- " rius transmitted those arrogant orders*, it " would appear that the genius controuling my " fortune had been of his council,—but to no " avail, if I may be permitted to prescribe for " myself. My case requires neither tardy " remedies, nor timorous physicians: Though " I were to die from a decisive course, it were " better than to recover slowly; therefore, if the " medical art has any powerful resources, let " all my friends who profess it understand, that " I do not seek so much an escape from dis- " solution, as a remedy for the stagnating war." This impatient temerity struck all his attendants with concern, which made each personally entreat of the king, ' That he would not aggra- ' vate his danger, by precipitation, but conform ' to the directions of his physicians;' adding,

* See ante, p. 191.

'that there was cause to suspect untried reme-
'dies, since the enemy had employed the
'temptation of money upon his domestics for
'his destruction;' (Darius had offered, by proclamation, a thousand talents to that man who should kill Alexander;) 'on which ac-
'count, they did not believe, that any person
'would venture to make trial of a preparation
'which, by its novelty, might excite distrust.'

CHAP. VI.

Interesting scene between Alexander and his physician. The king recovers. The army's gratitude to Philip.

13. AMONG the eminent physicians in the train of Alexander, was Philip of Acarnania, whom genuine friendship and intense loyalty attached to his master: having had the charge of the prince's health when a child, he loved Alexander not merely as his king, but as his foster-son. As a professor of the healing art, he undertook to compound a medicine, not too violent, but possessing sufficient activity to expel the disease. This promise pleased no one, but him at whose hazard it was to be performed:—the magnanimous patient preferred

all extremities to delay; the Persians drawn up for battle were before his eyes, and he considered that, to obtain victory, he need merely take his station before the Macedonian colours: that part of the communication which he heard with dissatisfaction was,—for this the physician added—"Before it will be proper to administer "the draught, three days must elapse."

In the meantime the king receives a letter from Parmenio, among his purpled* chiefs the highest in his confidence, admonishing him not to entrust the care of his health with Philip; for that Darius had corrupted him, by promising him a thousand talents, and by amusing him with the expectation of his daughter in marriage. This intimation made the king's mind the seat of anxiety and perplexity: he balanced within himself the suggestions of suspicion and the motives to confidence: "Shall "I persevere in the determination to take the "preparation—should it be charged with poi- "son, shall I not be deemed to deserve the re- "sult? Are not there grounds to distrust "the fidelity of my physician? But shall I "linger here, that Darius may crush me in my "tent? It is nobler for Alexander to die by

* It appears that Alexander allowed to some of his vicegerents and captains the distinction of wearing purple, which was usually confined to kings.

" another's perfidy, than through his own diffi-
" dence." Long did clashing surmises and reasonings fill the king's divided mind. Without revealing to any one the contents of the letter, he sealed it with his ring and laid it under his pillow.

14. After two days of doubt and agitation, dawned the morning appointed by the physician. Philip entered, bearing the cup in which he had proportioned the decisive draught. Alexander, seeing him, raised himself upon his elbow, and holding Parmenio's letter in his left hand, took the mixture, and drank it off with composure: he, then, gave the letter to the suspected physician, who read it by his desire,—Alexander closely observing his countenance, persuaded that, if he were a traitor, he should there detect conscience writhing with guilt. Philip having read the letter, displayed more indignation than fear: and, flinging down his cloak with the letter at the bed-side, he said:
" Sir! my life has always depended on your
" Majesty; but, now, the breath which passes
" those sacred lips is the vital breath of us
" both. As for the treason charged against
" me, your recovery will acquit me. When I
" shall have saved your life, I appeal to your
" goodness to continue mine. In the mean-
" time, suffer the potion to diffuse itself through

" your veins; and, dismissing all distrust, re-
" cal cheerfulness to your mind, which the
" unseasonable anxiety and officious zeal of
" your friends have disturbed." This speech not only restored the king to composure, but raised his spirits and renewed his hopes. He answered: " If the gods, Philip! had granted
" thee a test of my disposition towards thee,
" thou wouldst have chosen some other: but
" thou couldst not have wished for a more de-
" cisive proof of my confidence: notwithstand-
" ing the letter, you have seen me take your
" preparation; and, be assured, that I wait the
" effect, not less solicitous that it may vindi-
" cate your fidelity, than that it may conduce
" to my recovery." Having thus said, the hero gave the physician his hand.

15. As soon as the medicine began to operate, alarming symptoms in the patient seemed to countenance Parmenio's accusation. Alexander swooned; his respiration became difficult, and scarcely proceeded: The attentive physician omitted no application that his skill suggested: with fomentations he sought to awaken the irritability of the body; with the odour of meat and wine, he invited back the senses. When he perceived the king returning to himself, he reminded him of his mother and sisters,

and introduced the animating subject of the great approaching victory.

When the mixture had circulated through the veins of Alexander, and penetrated every part of his frame, indications of returning health could be gradually perceived. First his mind resumed its vigor; then his body, in the progress of recovery, surpassed expectation. In three days' time he showed himself to the army, gratified to see him, nor less eager to behold Philip, whom every one pressed by the hand, and thanked as a divinity.

Besides the national veneration for the monarch, which was a characteristic of the Macedonians, they had a personal admiration and love for Alexander which language is inadequate to describe. The first ground of that attachment was,—that he appeared to have embarked in no undertaking without the assistance of the Deity; and as victory had attended his enterprizes, his temerity had contributed to his glory. Moreover, his immature age, which previous to his great actions, had naturally been deemed unequal to such performances, now reflected on them the greater lustre. Other traits, less dazzling, had endeared him to the soldiers in the ranks: his performance of gymnastic exercises in the midst of them; his

moderation in apparel, and in the accommodations for his individual lodging, and refreshment, little superior to those of the private men; his martial vigor and hardihood. These gifts from nature, or acquisitions from education, held the hearts of the army to Alexander, by bands in which love and respect were equally interwoven.

CHAP. VII.

Darius advances toward Cilicia. Festivals in honour of Alexander's recovery. Victory in Caria. Parmenio returns from a successful expedition to Issus: the army marches thither. Catastrophe of Sisines.

16. DARIUS, informed of Alexander's sickness, moved with as much expedition as his immense army would permit, to the banks of the Euphrates: having laid bridges over that river, in five days he conveyed his forces across, hastening to anticipate Alexander in Cilicia.

But Alexander, with restored health and vigor, had reached the city Soli: having reduced it, he levied a contribution of two hundred talents, and placed a garrison in the cita-

del. Here, in discharge of vows offered on account of his recovery, he devoted an interval to sports and festivities, in honour of Æsculapius and Minerva: this security displayed his contempt for the Barbarians. While celebrating these pageantries, he is gratified by intelligence fron Halicarnassus, that the Persians had been defeated by his lieutenant, and that the inhabitants of Myndus and Caunus, and of several other districts of Caria, had submitted to his government.

The series of games and spectacles being completed, he broke up his camp; and having thrown a bridge over the Pyramus*, advanced to the city Mallos. Next day he encamped at the town of Castabala, where he was joined by Parmenio, whom he had detached to examine the *pass of the forest*†, through which he was to

It will become more than probable that the above channel was once the bed of the Pyramus, and that the little islet [in the salt water lake] already noticed, was the spot where Alexander threw his bridge across that river.—BEAUFORT'S *Karamania*, p. 274.

† The ruined town of Kastanlee seems to occupy the position of the ancient Castabala. Thence we directed our course for the first three miles over a sort of table land abounding in partridges, hares, and antelopes: when we entered a narrow valley, or rather DEFILE, CLOTHED WITH THICK COPSE WOOD AND EVERGREENS. At the eighth mile the rocks on either side approached each other; and we passed under an arch of an old gateway built of black granite, called Kara Cape, or the Black Gate. This building is evidently intended to defend the entrance into the defile; and I should guess it to have been

penetrate to the city Issus. Parmenio, having seized this streit, and left a small force in charge of it, proceeded to occupy Issus, which the inhabitants had abandoned: then advancing further, he dislodged the fugitives from their strong recesses in the mountains:—After securing all the posts by garrisons, and by a guard at the defile, he returned to Alexander, both the achiever and the herald of these successes.

17. Hereupon the king led the army to

constructed at a period antecedent to the conquests of the Turks; and to have been once much more extensive than it now is. The pass expanded immediately when we had quitted the gate.—*Journey through Asia Minor, Armenia, and Koordistan. By John Macdonald Kinneir, Captain in the service of the Hon. East-India Company.* 8*vo. London*, 1818. *p.* 135.

This second, or middle pass, is WITHIN Cilicia. As Curtius is the only writer among the Antients, with the exception perhaps of Strabo, who has described this pass; so Capt. Macdonald Kinneir is the only traveller among the Moderns who has distinctly indicated its site by painting the character of the scenery in his way to the old arch mentioned by Dr. Pocock to have had an iron gate. The Translator thinks, however, that Strabo points to the same defile, or one very near it, in the following notice.—This celebrated geographer, p. 676, says, after mentioning ÆGÆÆ [the modern Ayass], "then "come the *Amanides Pylæ*, or Gates of Amanus, having a place fit "for a harbour. At these gates M. Amanus terminates; a moun- "tain branching from Taurus, and overhanging the eastern frontier "of Cilicia." The place, fit for a harbour, is ÆGÆÆ itself. This marks, therefore, the north-western extremity of Amanus; a spur from which appears to run thence in a curve to the north-east, connecting itself with Taurus, while another spur shoots southward, and just piercing the frontier of Syria, ends at the ancient Pagræ. We shall have occasion more particularly to mention Pagræ in a note upon the THIRD pass, that *from Cilicia to Syria*, below, p. 309.

Issus, where he debated, in council, whether it behoved him to prosecute his march, or await there the junction of the new levies hourly expected from Macedon. Parmenio declared his opinion, 'That Alexander could not select 'a more eligible position to give battle in, 'since it would reduce the forces of both kings 'to an equality, as the streits denied passage to 'a multitude. That it concerned the Macedo-'nians to avoid plains and open levels, where 'they might be surrounded, and crushed by an 'attack at once on the front and rear. In that 'case, he did not apprehend that their defeat 'would be the effect of bravery in the enemy, 'but of fatigue in themselves; for the Persians, 'in a spacious field, could be incessantly re-'lieved by fresh troops.' The propriety of this salutary counsel was readily perceived: therefore Alexander determined to wait at the pass of the *forest** for the enemy.

There was in the Macedonian army a Persian, named Sisines, whom the governor of Egypt had formerly employed on a mission to Philip. This man, being courted by gifts and

* Subsequently, however, he changed this feature of the plan, without departing from its spirit. Alexander was penetrating into Southern Syria, by the pass called the *gates of Syria and Cilicia*, when Darius reached the defile of Amanus and the city of Issus.—See below, chap. viii.

promotions, abjured his native connections, and settled in Macedon. In the expedition against Asia, attending Alexander,—he was treated by the king as one of his companions and confidants. To him a Cretan soldier delivered a letter, sealed with an unknown seal: Nabarzanes, a satrap of Darius, in this communication, exhorted Sisines "To do something worthy his quality and merit; something that "should entitle him to high dignities at the "Persian court." Sisines, pure and loyal in intention, had often endeavoured to show the letter to Alexander: but finding him always engaged in important affairs, and in preparations for the approaching action, he awaited a convenient interview: this delay created a suspicion that he was the instrument of a foreign plot. For the letter had first reached the hands of Alexander, who, having read it, sealed it with an unknown seal, and desired that it should be delivered to Sisines, employing it as a test of his fidelity. The Persian courtier, not presenting himself for a series of days, was considered to suppress the letter from an unpardonable motive; and he was killed in his quarters by the Cretan band, no doubt under the orders of Alexander.

CHAP. VIII.

Darius rejects the advice of the Greek mercenaries. The Persians pass the streits of Amanus, while the Macedonians penetrate those of Syria. Darius pursues. Alexander marches to meet Darius. Terror of the Persians. Military dispositions of Darius in part described.

18. THE Greek mercenaries, on whom Darius founded his principal, almost his sole expectations, transferred from the command of Pharnabazus to that of Thymodes, had now arrived in his camp*. Officers of consideration among these, endeavoured to prevail upon him, 'To 'retire, and gain the spacious plains of Meso- 'potamia: or, if he rejected that advice, at 'least to divide his immense army, nor expose 'the embodied energies of his empire to be 'crushed in one battle, or scattered, never 'again to be collected.' These propositions were not so ill received by the king, as by his nobles. They urged, 'The duplicity, venality, 'and perfidy of the Greeks; which made it pe- 'rilous to act from their suggestions. They

* Arrian states, that they marched from Tripolis, whither a fleet had sailed with them from Greece.

'had recommended a partition of the forces, 'that they might deliver up to Alexander that 'army, which should devolve to their separate 'management. And no measure of defence 'would avail more, than to surround them 'with all the Persian troops, and cut them in 'pieces, as a warning to traitors.' To this, Darius, not insensible to the sanctions of humanity and religion, replied: "I abhor so fla- "gitious an act, as the massacre of men rely- "ing on my protection, and engaged in my "service. What foreign state would hereafter "trust me with the lives of its citizens, were I "to stain my hands with the blood of so many "soldiers? Weak advice ought not to be visit- "ed as a capital crime: if to deliver an opinion "be rendered so dangerous, we shall have no "counsellors. Among you, whom I every day "summon round me, for your sentiments, I "find advocates of opposite measures; nor do "I regard those whose propositions are most "judicious, as better affected to me than their "colleagues, whose propositions I reject." Then Darius ordered the following answer to be returned, in his name, to the Greeks: 'That the 'king thanked them for their good dispositions 'towards him: but, with regard to a retrograde 'march, its effect would be to transfer his king- 'dom to the invader. That military operations

'depend greatly on reputation; and he who
'withdraws, is considered to fly. That to en-
'deavour to protract * the war, were a species
'of folly; because the winter was approaching;
'when it would be impossible to provide food
'for his immense army in a desolate country,
'alternately wasted by his own troops, and by
'the enemy. That to divide his forces, were
'contrary to the practice of his ancestors, who
'always brought out their whole strength when
'they hazarded a battle. And, in fact, the Ma-
'cedonian, previously so formidable, at a dis-
'tance swelling with airy confidence, now he
'perceived Darius to be at hand, had resigned
'his temerity for caution; lurking in the de-
'files of the forest, like those beasts, at once
'untamed and abject; who, on hearing the ad-
'vance of passengers, steal in woods to their
'dark holes:—even now, counterfeiting sick-
'ness, he was deluding his own soldiers. But
'he should not longer refuse to fight, for Da-
'rius would seize him in the den to which his
'fainting heart had carried him for delay.'
These magnificent vauntings had a frail foundation.

* While this answer of the ministers, in the name of Darius, embraces topics not touched in the proposal of the Greeks,—the essential suggestion, the policy of making a level country the seat of war, receives no reply.

19. Darius, having sent all his money, and most valuable treasures, under a moderate escort, to Damascus, in Syria, marched with the rest of his army into Cilicia; his consort and mother following with the rear-guard, according to the Persian usage; his daughters, also, and little boy, were in the train. It happened, that the Persian forces came to the streits of Amanus*, on the same night that Alexander reached the streits which lead into Syria. The Persians confidently concluded, that the Macedonians were on the retreat,—because the latter had abandoned their recent conquest, Issus,—and because some of the wounded and sick, who could not proceed with Alexander's army, were there taken. Darius, at the instigation of his nobles, exercising the vengeance of a savage, caused the hands of the prisoners to be cut off: then, with the wounds seared, he ordered them to be led round his camp, that they might survey his forces, and, having thoroughly observed every thing, report to Alexander what they had seen.

Darius, moving to a new encampment, passed the river Pinarus, in order to strike at the rear of the Macedonians, whom he imagined to be in full retreat. Meanwhile, the soldiers whom the Barbarians had mutilated, arriving in

* See Additional Notes (J).

the camp of Alexander, inform him that Darius is pursuing the track of the Macedonians with impetuous steps. The king could not fully credit the information; he therefore despatched a small reconnoitring party coastwise*, to examine whether Darius had reached the neighbourhood of Issus in person, or whether one of his satraps were not causing a demonstration, to be taken for the advance of the whole army. But by the time the reconnoitring party had returned, the extended multitude could be seen at a distance. Soon afterwards, fires began to blaze throughout all the plains, and the Persian camp had the appearance of a general conflagration†: The space over which the irregular mass had spread themselves, was the more dilated on account of their cattle.

Hereupon Alexander ordered his forces to encamp in their present position‡; exulting in the prospect of deciding in those streits who should hold the empire; a crisis for which he had long devoutly prayed.

20. It is not uncommon for the most sanguine to feel a moment of anxiety, when a decision which deeply concerns them is on the eve

* We learn from Arrian, that they went in a trireme.

† *See* PREFACE TO SECOND EDITION, *Testimonies to the Accuracy of Curtius, by recent Travellers, No. I.*

‡ On the Syrian side of the defile which he had just passed.

of being pronounced. Such was now the case with Alexander. Of fortune, under whose wings he had been wafted to such a height of prosperity, he became diffident—and not entirely without reason; for the possessions which she had transferred to him reminded him of her fickleness. The reflection occurred: "Only the curtain of a night hangs before the event of the "mighty conflict." Then he revolved the fortifying considerations: "The prize far outweighs the danger. Whether I shall conquer "is doubtful — — this is certain, that if I fall, "it will be worthily, and my memory will be "embalmed."

The leader of the Greeks and Macedonians gave a general order to the troops to refresh themselves, and afterwards, at the third watch *, to be at their stations, armed and in marching order.

Meanwhile, he ascended the summit of a lofty mountain, by torch-light, and there offered sacrifices, according to the rites of his country, to the local genii or deities †.

* The ancients divided the night into four parts, equal with each other, but varying in length, according to the season; and because among military bodies, guard was mounted during each of these divisions, they received the name of watches; the third watch began at midnight.

† It was a received opinion among the Greeks, that every place had one divinity, or a plurality of divinities, peculiarly presiding over it.

Now the trumpet a third time resounded, the appointed signal; the army stood prepared to march or to engage. The command was, to march in the quickest time; and, at the rising dawn, they had gained the streits which their leader destined them to occupy. The advanced videttes now reported, that Darius was distant but thirty stadia. Alexander commanded the troops to halt, and, having put on his armour, drew up his army in order of battle.

21. Darius, to whom the affrighted peasants communicated the arrival of Alexander, with difficulty credited that the fugitives whom he was pursuing had come to intercept him. The unexpected meeting appals his soldiers, who were better prepared for marching than for action: they start to take their weapons; but the precipitate bustle with which they run to and fro, in obedience to the incessant cry of "to "arms!" propagates their increasing terrors: Some individuals climb one of the heights in the chain, thence to view the enemy; numbers are bridling their horses. This incongruous army, not moving by orders emanating from a general leader, was convulsed with agitation and tumult.

The first determination of Darius was to occupy the ridge of the mountain with part of his forces, in order to attack the enemy as well on the rear as in front: From a station along the

sea-side, which covered the extremity of his right-wing, he proposed that another body should take the enemy in flank: Moreover, twenty thousand archers were sent forward with orders to pass * the Pinarus, whose stream separated the two armies, and charge the invaders; —or, if that were found impracticable, to retire † to the mountains, and thence steal upon the enemy's rear. But fortune, which triumphs over human arrangements, rendered abortive his most able dispositions: some divisions of his army, from cowardice, disobeyed his orders, and some executed them to no effect; for where the parts fail, the whole is disconcerted.

* From Arrian it may be collected, that these archers did not pass the river, or passed and returned; joined by thirty thousand cavalry, they, in a position on its hither bank, in vain opposed the passage of the Macedonians, notwithstanding the bank was craggy along a great part of the line, and in other places the Persians were defended by an entrenchment.

† According to Arrian, it was another body, of twenty thousand, who were instructed to occupy the mountain on which is the source of the Pinarus, whence they were to gall the right-wing, and, as far as it could be effected, the rear of Alexander.

CHAP. IX.

Order of battle of the Persian main army. Alexander's order of battle. Unsteady conduct of Persian partizans on the heights. Macedonian order of march through the defile.

22. THE following was the Persian order of battle*. In the right wing† was Nabarzanes with his cavalry, and about twenty thousand slingers and archers:—this part of the line was strengthened by thirty thousand Greek mercenaries commanded by Thymodes; these were, indisputably, the main pillar of the Persian army, and equal to the Macedonian phalanx. In the left, Aristomedes the Thessalian directed twenty thousand Barbarian infantry; behind these, levies from the most warlike nations formed a reserve:—In this part of the line‡, the king in person, attended by three thousand cho-

* The troops mentioned in the preceding section seem to have been a surplus force, which, not having room to form with the body of the army, Darius distributed on surrounding points, ready to take advantage of circumstances

† It will prepare the reader to understand the description, to be apprised that Curtius here speaks only of two wings, which being prolonged till they meet, absorb the centre.

‡ Arrian places the king in the centre, according to the ancient Persian custom; but as one third of the left [see the last note] belongs to the centre, both accounts may be reconciled.

sen horse, his usual body-guard, led forty thousand foot:—Near them were posted the Hyrcanians and Medes, with cavalry from the remaining nations disposed on their right and left.

Before the army, thus drawn up, there was a vanguard of six thousand archers and slingers. Every opening in these streits where men could be introduced, was filled with troops. The army of Darius, with its right wing touching the sea, extended its left to the chain of mountains.

23. Alexander stationed the phalanx (the Macedonians had no description of force on which they more depended,) in the van. Nicanor, the son of Parmenio, commanded on the right: near him, in succession, were stationed Cænos, and Perdiccas, and Meleager, and Ptolemy, and Amyntas, with their respective corps. The left wing, which extended *toward* the sea, was directed by Craterus and Parmenio; but Craterus had orders to obey Parmenio. The cavalry covered the flanks, of which they formed the extremities; the Macedonians, with the Thessalians, were on the right; the Peloponnesians, on the left. Before the main army there was an advanced guard of slingers, interspersed with archers, supported by the Thracians and Cretans, who were also lightly armed.

The Agrians, who, trained in Greece, had lately joined, were instructed to keep in check

those whom Darius had sent forward to occupy the heights. The king had ordered Parmenio to extend his lines as far as he could toward the sea, the farther to remove the army from the heights in the possession of the Barbarians. The latter neither opposed the Agrians when approaching, nor ventured to surround them when they had passed, but fled in consternation on the first appearance of the slingers: their infirmity of conduct rendered secure the flank of the Macedonians, which Alexander had been greatly apprehensive would suffer from exposure to the impending stations of the enemy.

The army marched [by its flank] thirty-two in a file, while the confined entrance of the streits would not admit a wider column: as the avenue gradually expanded, the infantry were enabled to march with extended ranks, and at length the cavalry spread out into their places on the wings.

CHAP. X.

The armies in sight, Alexander restrains his men from marching too eagerly. His address to the different national bodies in his army.

24. THE two armies, now mutually in view, were yet beyond the range of each other's ar-

rows; when the van * of the Persians made a ferocious shouting; but not in unison, so as to produce the effect of a volley. The burst of acclamation returned by the Macedonians was so imposing, as to appear to come from an army superior * in number; the Macedonians, deeper embosomed in the woods and forests of the scene, were indeed more assisted by the local echoes, which reverberate and multiply every sound.

Proceeding in the front with the colours, Alexander with his hand repeatedly made signs to his men, to restrain their impatient steps; lest, at the critical moment of coming up with the enemy, their accelerated respiration, interrupted and exhausted, should disable them from making a vigorous charge. Then, riding along the line, he delivered addresses to the troops,

* "Van of the Persians." The original is *priores Persæ*. Many commentators have, in this paragraph, discovered a difficulty on account of the acclamations of the Macedonians being represented as the loudest; and have therefore been willing, by supposed emendations, to reconcile the account with that of Diodorus Siculus, [lib. xvii.] which makes the Macedonians first cheer. By understanding *priores Persæ*, which would appear to have been habitually construed "the Persians first," rather as a phrase, not indeed very military, for the "van of the Persians," an additional cause is gained why the shout from the smaller army should exceed in deepness and fulness; which, with the other causes in the text, seem quite equal to the effect. Indeed, if the power and intenseness of the two volleys of sound had corresponded with the size of the two armies, the circumstance would have been too common to merit notice.

accommodated to the views and prepossessions of the several national corps. 'He reminded 'the Macedonians of their established bravery, 'which had made them the victors in so many 'wars in Europe, and which had assembled 'them under his standard, with volunteering 'zeal, ardent as his own, to subdue Asia, and 'the remote countries of the East. That, des-'tined to deliver the world, having penetrated 'beyond the conquests of Hercules and Bac-'chus, they were to found an empire, embra-'cing not the Persians only, but all nations: 'Among their possessions would be Bactriana 'and India. That their immediate prospect 'was inconsiderable: but victory had every 'prize in store. That the craggy rocks of Il-'lyricum, and the sterile tracts of Thrace, were 'not to be the reward of their achievements: 'the rich East offered her spoils. That they 'would find it scarcely necessary to exercise their 'swords; for that the ranks of the enemy, fal-'tering and alarmed, might be driven with their 'bucklers. He apostrophized his father Philip 'the conqueror of the Athenians; he brought 'into review their recent conquest, and destruc-'tion, of the celebrated city of Thebes; he di-'rected their recollection to the battle of the 'Granicus, and to the numberless Asiatic towns 'which had been reduced, or had submitted;

'in fine, all the countries in their rear lay pros-
'trate under Macedonian lieutenants.' Having then proceeded to the columns of the Greeks, Alexander represented, 'That the army in view,
'were the Barbarians who had made war upon
'Greece: he adverted to the insolence, first of
'Darius, [Hystaspes,] and afterwards of Xerxes,
'who exhausted and devastated all their *water*
'*and land**, leaving them neither flowing foun-
'tains, nor provisions. He desired them to
'keep in mind, that hordes of Persians had
'over-run and plundered their cities, and had
'subverted and consigned to flames the temples
'of their gods.' But the Macedonian leader, when he had reached that part of the line which consisted of Illyrians and Thracians, who were accustomed to live by rapine, thus spoke: "Be-
" hold the army of the enemy! How the bos-
" ses of gold glitter on their purple mantles,
" carrying not armour, but a rich booty! As
" men, advance and rifle those weak women of
" their gold. Exchange your rugged piles of
" rock, and barren heights, cold and pale with
" eternal frost, for the luxuriant plains and
" fields of Persia."

* An allusion to the tribute of earth and water which the Persian monarchs arrogantly required from the Greeks, as a symbol of obedience.

CHAP. XI.

The battle of Issus. The wife and children of Darius are taken captive.

25. THE armies had approached within the range of each other's darts,— when the Persian cavalry furiously charged the left wing of the enemy; for Darius was desirous to decide the affair by the horse, sensible that the phalanx was the grand dependance of the Macedonians. At the same time, the right wing of Alexander was on the point of being surrounded *: Alexander, perceiving this, while he left two squadrons to continue guarding the acclivity of the mountain, adroitly removed the others into the midst of the conflict. Then detaching from his line the Thessalian cavalry, he directed their commander to conduct them, by the most private road, to the rear of the

Olymp. cxi. 4. *A. C.* 333. *Ætat. Alex.* 24. *Reg.* 4.

* It has been related in chap. ix. sect. 23, that a Persian detachment, occupying some height in the chain, which menaced Alexander's flank *while marching up to engage*, was dispersed: but that does not affect the circumstance of Alexander's right being nearly surrounded when it reached the more open space where the battle took place; for the main army of Darius, by its disproportionate superiority, must have greatly outflanked the Macedonians.

army, there to effect a junction with Parmenio, and promptly to execute his orders.

Now the Macedonian forces, almost enclosed by the Persians, who had spread themselves on every side, intrepidly maintained their ground. They * stood, however, so closely locked together, that they could not cast their darts with freedom: the darts, discharged at the same moment, met, intermingled, in the air, whence they fell, a few upon the enemy with feeble effect; the greater part innocuous upon the ground. Therefore, the Macedonians gallantly drew their swords, and engaged the Persians in a close fight. Then it was that blood was prodigally spilt: in such close contact are the hostile lines, that their thrusting and parrying swords strike together; and they direct the points into each other's faces. Neither the cowardly nor the imbecile can practise any illusion: foot to foot, each fights as in a duel, not moving from the spot, till by the death of his antagonist he opens a way. When thus enabled

* The Macedonian heavy infantry, or phalanx. The severe engagement which ensues, appears, from Arrian, to have been with the Persian Greek mercenaries. The latter perceiving, that, by the rapidity of an assault which Alexander had directed against the Barbarians, his right had separated from the centre, rushed into the interval where the phalanx was disjointed. This desperate conflict proved fatal to Ptolemy the son of Seleucus, and one hundred and twenty officers of distinction,

to advance, the fatigued combatant is assailed by a fresh enemy. Nor can the wounded, as is customary, retire from the ranks; for while the enemy press them in front, their own men lock them in on the rear.

26. Alexander did not discharge the office of a general better than he acquitted himself as a combatant, ambitious of killing Darius with his own hand. The conspicuous height at which Darius was seated in his lofty car, animated his Persians to defend, while it provoked the Macedonians to attack him. Hence, Oxathres, the brother of the Persian monarch, perceiving that Alexander was penetrating in that direction, interposed, before the royal car, the cavalry which he commanded: He was not more conspicuous for the refulgency of his armour, than eminent for his vigorous frame, consummate courage, and loyal affection: he acted a distinguished part in defence of the king, striking down assailants who rushed on with temerity, and forcing the cautious to fly. But the Macedonians, who encircled Alexander, so exhorted and supported each other, that, with their leader, they at length broke into the column of the enemy's cavalry: then began the triumph of remorseless slaughter; empurpled nobles of the highest rank were strewed round the chariot of Darius, having received a glori-

ous death in the presence of their king: in their stations they had fallen fighting, all their wounds being in the forepart of their body. Among them might be recognized Atizyes; and Rheomithres; with Sabaces, satrap of Egypt; who had respectively commanded powerful armies: heaps of infantry and cavalry, of less illustrious rank, or obscure condition, surrounded them.

In this part of the field, the Macedonians slain or disabled, were not numerous: but they were the most bold and enterprizing men: Alexander was wounded in the right thigh with a sword.

27. The horses yoked to the royal car, pierced with lances, and raging in consequence of the anguish, shattered the yoke* by their plungings, and were on the point of dashing Darius from his unsteady seat,—when he, apprehensive that he should fall alive into the hands of the enemy, leaped down, and mounted a horse which had been held in readiness, ingloriously divesting himself of his arms and the ensigns of his dignity†, lest they should betray him in his flight. Then the remainder of the Persians, in consternation, dispersed, by what-

* *Jugum*, which occasionally signifies the HARNESS, perhaps should here be translated the TRANSVERSE DRAFT-BEAM. See a note on book IV. chap. ix. 34.

† His shield, his mantle, and his bow.

ever route offered escape; every one casting away the armour which he had taken for defence: Thus terror abandons the means of safety.

Parmenio detached a body of horse to pursue the fugitives; for it happened that these had all urged their course by his wing. On the Macedonian right-wing, however, the Persians had severely pressed the Thessalian cavalry, and had, by an impetuous shock, broke the line on one flank: but the Thessalians, wheeling about and rallying, returned to the attack, and routed, with excessive slaughter, the Barbarians, who, in the security of victory, had dilated in disorder. The Persian horses being loaded with plates of armour, as well as the riders, their heavy squadrons could not form again with sufficient celerity; while wheeling, many were killed by the Thessalians.

As soon as Alexander was informed, that success on this flank completed the victory, he commenced a pursuit, which he did not before deem judicious. He had at hand no more than a thousand horse to lead on this service: but they made a prodigious slaughter of the enemy: But who, either in a victory or flight, counts and balances the forces? The fugitives were, therefore, driven by this handful of men, like so many sheep; and the panic which prompted their tumultuary haste, obstructed their escape.

28. The Greek division of the Persian army, under the command of Amyntas, a lieutenant of Alexander, who had gone over to Darius, separating themselves from the rest, retreated in good order*.

The Barbarians [who had been opposed to the Macedonian right-wing] sought safety in various directions: some fled by the direct road to Persia; some, taking a circuit, repaired to the rocky cliffs, and woody recesses, of the mountains; a small division penetrated to the camp of Darius,—but the enemy had anticipated them. The Macedonians found in the Persian camp every description of riches. Immense quantities of silver and gold articles, serving for the purposes of luxury rather than of war, formed part of the booty†. As the plunder of the soldiers accumulated, they lightened themselves, by strewing the roads with packages of treasure, disdained by their avarice as worthless, as soon as greater prizes could be seized. The lawless

* Though they might, in the first instance, retire with Amyntas, they subsequently dispersed. Four thousand joined Darius; [see book IV. sect. 1;] Amyntas carried four thousand into Egypt; [see book IV. sect. 5;] Eight thousand reached the sea-coast, through Cilicia, and returned to Greece.—See book IV. sect. 6.

† The camp contained in money but three thousand talents, a great proportion of the magnificent treasures of Darius having been removed, previous to the battle, to Damascus.—Gillies's Greece, chap. xxxvii.—See ante, p. 309.

conquerors had now reached that part of the camp appropriated to the women: the more superbly the Persian ladies were habited, the more outrageously were they stripped of their ornaments; nor were their persons exempted from the violations of lust. Passionate shrieks of terror and lamentation resounded through the camp, expressing every variety of distress and calamity, amid the perpetration of every kind of atrocity; for to every rank and age did the wild licentiousness and cruelty of the victors extend.

In the scene stood a striking proof of the versatility of fortune; for the domestics of Darius, who had decorated his tent in all the Persian luxury and magnificence, these same domestics kept it prepared for the reception of Alexander, as though they had been old servants in his household. This was the only thing which the soldiers left untouched, in compliance with an ancient custom of preserving the tent of the vanquished monarch for the victor.

29. But those imperial captives, the mother and wife of Darius, awakened the sympathies of all the spectators. The age and the majestic deportment of the former made her doubly venerable; the latter gained the homage of the heart by her beauty, which, under the unfavourable

influence of calamity, was still transcendant. She supported on her lap her little son, not six years old, the heir so lately of that immense empire which his father had lost. The daughters of Darius, two blooming marriageable virgins, leaned on the bosom of their grandmother, deeply afflicted by the misfortunes which involved her with themselves. Round the queens and princesses stood a circle of noble ladies, with their hair torn, and with the splendours and ornaments of dress laid aside, calling upon the queens, by the titles " majesty" and " so- " vereign," which had ceased to belong to their condition. The queens themselves, unmindful of their own disaster, impatiently inquired in which wing Darius had fought, and with what degree of success? denying that they were prisoners, if the king were safe.

At this time, Darius, who repeatedly changed horses, had proceeded in his flight to a great distance.

Of the Persians, there fell in this action one hundred thousand foot and ten thousand horse. On Alexander's side, there were [two hundred and *] thirty-two infantry killed, five hundred and four infantry wounded; one hun-

* See ante, p. 321. n. Diodorus makes the infantry slain amount to three hundred.

dred and fifty cavalry killed. At so small a price did Alexander obtain this eminent victory.

CHAP. XII.

Alexander's banquet interrupted by an alarm among the royal prisoners. Alexander buries the slain. Visits the captive queens.

30. ALEXANDER, fatigued by a protracted pursuit after Darius, finding that night approached, and despairing of overtaking him, returned, and entered the camp of which his men had just before taken possession. The king invited his most intimate friends to a banquet, at which the wound in his thigh, being but skin-deep, did not prevent him from being present. In the middle of the entertainment, the convivials were disturbed by a sudden burst of dreadful lamentations from a neighbouring tent, mixed with dissonant and dismal shriekings. The band that kept guard at the king's tent, supposing it to be the prelude to a greater commotion, took to their arms. The cause of alarm was this: the piercing groans and wailings escaped from the mother and wife

of Darius, and the other captive ladies, under an impression that he was slain; for an eunuch, taken prisoner, standing by accident before their tent, when a Macedonian soldier carried along the mantle of Darius, (thrown off by Darius in his flight, lest it should betray him,) recognized the habiliment, and concluding that his royal master was no more, reported his melancholy surmise, to the queens, as a fact. Alexander, informed of the mistake of the ladies, is represented to have shed tears, commiserating the fate of Darius, and sympathizing with the affection of his family. As a herald to the queens of consoling news, he at first selected Mithrenes, (who had surrendered Sardis,) on account of his superior knowledge of the Persian language; then, reflecting that the sight of this traitor might awaken indignation in them, and aggravate their grief, he dispatched Leonatus, one of his nobles, to convey them an assurance, that Darius, whom they lamented, was living. Leonatus, with a few of Alexander's body-guards, proceeded to the tent of the royal captives, and announced that he was the bearer of a message from the king. The domestics who waited at the entry of the tent, perceiving the armed attendants of Leonatus, concluded that a tragical doom awaited their mistresses, and ran into the tent, exclaiming

that their last hour was come, for the king had sent soldiers to kill them. The queens, neither capable of resisting, nor of summoning resolution to meet executioners, gave no answer, but in silence expected the will of the conqueror. Leonatus, after having waited a long time for some person to introduce him, when he found no one durst come out, left his attendants in the front, and entered the tent alone. The apprehensions of the ladies were confirmed by his rushing in, uncalled. The mother and the consort of Darius, falling at his feet, implored permission to bury the corpse of Darius according to the solemnities of their country, before their lives were taken away; telling him, that when they had rendered the last duty of humanity to their king, they should be ready to die. Leonatus answered, that Darius was living, and that, with respect to themselves, they were secure of protection, and of being treated as queens, without any diminution of their former grandeur. Then the mother of Darius suffered herself to be raised.

31. On the following day, Alexander interred, with funereal rites, those of his soldiers whose bodies had been found: he directed the same respect to be shown to the Persians of highest distinction among the slain; permitting the mother of Darius to bury such as she

chose, according to the manner of her country. Sisygambis exercised this privilege in the sepulture of a few of her relatives, in which she was regulated by her present condition, apprehending that the more splendid style in which the Persians solemnize funerals, might be regarded invidiously by the conquerors, whom she observed to bury their dead with comparatively little ceremony.

Having finished the charities due to the departed, Alexander apprised the captive queens, by a messenger, that he was coming to attend them as a visitor. Leaving his retinue without, he entered the tent with Hephæstion only. Of all his friends, this officer was the highest in his affection; educated with him, the depositary of his secrets. He, alone, was allowed by Alexander to address him in the free and candid language of a monitor; a liberty which he so exercised, that it seemed rather to be conferred by Alexander than assumed by himself. Of equal age with the king, he excelled him in a beautiful exterior. Therefore the queens, supposing him to be the king*, paid him the homage customary in the East. Now, one of the eunuchs, sensible of the impropriety, showed Sisygambis which was Alexander. She, pros-

* From Arrian we learn, that their dress was alike.

trating herself at his feet, apologized for 'a mis-
'take which had resulted from ignorance: she
'had never before seen his majesty.' The king, lifting her up, replied: "You committed no "mistake, my revered mother! Hephæstion "likewise is Alexander."

32. If the Macedonian hero had preserved the same moderation to the end of his life,—I should have esteemed him to enjoy more internal satisfaction than he felt, when, with every exterior sign of happiness, he imitated the triumph of Bacchus, after a victorious career through all the regions from the Hellespont to the [Indian] ocean: — — Then he would have subdued his pride and his anger, which became invincible maladies; then he would not have embrued his hands in the blood of his friends at the convivial board; then he would have revolted from executing, without a trial, able officers, his companions in arms, who had contributed to his successes. Prosperity had not yet overwhelmed his mind: he bore its rise with equanimity and stemming prudence: afterwards, when it had swelled to a flood, it swept away his self-controul. At this time, he so conducted himself, as to excel, in clemency and continence, all kings who had preceded him: To the royal virgins, whose charms were of a superior kind, his deportment could not

have been more delicately correct had they been his sisters. The wife of Darius he not only refrained from violating, but he protected, by special regulations, all the female captives from insult. He directed every accommodation to be provided for the royal prisoners: nor was there any thing of their former magnificence wanting, except a confiding sense of perfect security.

Sisygambis thus addressed the conqueror: "You deserve, Sir! on our part, the same "prayers which we have been accustomed to "offer for Darius; and you are worthy, as I "perceive, of your superior fortune, because of "your superior clemency. You are pleased to "give me the titles of 'mother' and 'queen,' "but I acknowledge myself to be your "slave. I could support the loftiness of my "vanished fortune, and I can submit to my "present servitude. It concerns your charac-"ter, that your power over us should be dis-"played in acts of benevolence, rather than se-"verity." Alexander entreated the mother, and the consort, of Darius, not to be dejected. Then he took the son of Darius in his arms, who was so far from being affrighted, though it was his first time of seeing the king, that he put his arms round his neck. Alexander was so affected by the child's confidence towards him, that,

turning to Hephæstion, he said: "How glad "should I be, if Darius had something of this "disposition!"

33. Now, parting from the royal prisoners, he quitted their tent *.

He consecrated, on the banks of the river Pinarus, altars to Jupiter, to Hercules, and to Minerva.

Then he marched into Syria, sending Parmenio forward to Damascus, where the king of Persia's treasure was deposited.

* Alexander was never greater than after the battle of Issus. [Gillies's Greece, chap. xxxvii.] The city of Solon, in Cilicia, though a Grecian colony, had discovered ardent zeal in the cause of Darius: to punish this apostacy from Greece, Alexander demanded a heavy contribution from Solon. After the victory he remitted this penalty. With the same magnanimity, he released the ATHENIAN prisoners taken at the battle of the Granicus, a favour which he had sternly refused in the dawn of his fortune. [See ante, p. 273.]

The Grecian ambassadors, captives [see infra, p. 339.] at Damascus, were conducted into his presence. Thessaliscus and Dionysodorus, Thebans, he declared free, acknowledging that the misfortunes of their country entitled the Thebans to apply to Darius, or any foreign monarch, for relief. To Iphicrates, the Athenian, he showed respect on account of his country and his father. Euthycles, the Spartan, he detained in custody, because Sparta sullenly rejected the friendship of Macedon: But as his forgiveness increased with his power, he afterwards [infra, book IV. chap. viii. 33.] released Euthycles.

CHAP. XIII.

Account of the spoil and captives surrendered at Damascus by the treachery of the governor.

PARMENIO, having discovered that one of the satraps of Darius had obtained the start of him in repairing to Damascus, and apprehending that his small detachment might appear contemptible to the enemy, resolved to send for a reinforcement. But it happened that his scouts took, and brought before him, a Mardian, who delivered to him a letter from the governor of Damascus, addressed to Alexander; desiring 'That Alexander would promptly send thither 'one of his generals with a small force.' The emissary, who had been detained while Parmenio opened and read the letter, added, 'That 'the governor's intention, he doubted not, was 'to deliver up to Alexander all the Persian 'king's furniture and money.' On this information, Parmenio sent back the messenger, under a slender escort, to the traitor. The messenger, eluding those who had the care of him, entered Damascus before day-light. This occurrence disconcerted Parmenio, who suspected

an ambuscade; and, therefore, would not venture to proceed without a guide. Having impressed some peasants as guides, he, confiding in the good fortune of his sovereign, reached the city on the fourth day; when the governor had begun to apprehend, that his communication was not credited. Pretending, therefore, to consider the place as untenable, the governor ordered the money belonging to the *regal treasury*, (which the Persians call *gaza,)* together with the most valuable movables, to be brought out; dissimulating an intention to escape with the whole, but covertly designing to surrender it as a prize to the enemy.

34. Evacuating the town, he was followed by crowds of both sexes, to the amount of some thousands; a painful spectacle to all, him excepted, to whose protection they had been committed. To obtain the greater price for his infamous treason, he had prepared for the enemy a booty more acceptable than gold—the wives and children of several of the nobles and satraps of Darius. At Damascus, too, resided the ambassadors from the Greek cities, whom Darius had lodged, with the perfidious governor, in the citadel, as an impregnable asylum.

The Persians denominate those who carry burthens on their shoulders, *gangabæ*. These

men, unable to endure the cold*, (for there came on a sudden fall of snow, in the midst of a severe frost,) took the royal robes of gold and purple, which, as well as money, they were carrying, and put them on; no one daring to oppose them, for the misfortunes of the king emboldened the vilest wretches to insult his authority.

At a distance, the multitude appeared to Parmenio as no contemptible army: he, therefore, having in a short speech exhorted his men to preserve a steady front, commanded them to set spurs to their horses, and charge the enemy vigorously. Upon this, those who were carrying the burthens, flung them down, and in wild alarm took to flight. The soldiers, who followed, participating in the panic, threw away their arms, and turned into the bye-ways, with which they were familiar. The governor himself, counterfeiting terror, completed the general confusion. The plains were covered with the scattered imperial treasures—the cash provided for paying an immense army—the splendid suits of apparel of so many nobles and princesses—vessels of gold—bridles with bits, and ornaments, of gold—tents formed with regal

* The battle of Issus is hence supposed to have happened about the month of November. Indeed, Arrian states it to have been fought in the month *Mæmacterion*, answering to November.

magnificence—carriages laden with riches, abandoned by their drivers; altogether, a scene distressing to the plunderers, could avarice feel remorse. Among the incredible stores which opulence had accumulated through a long course of prosperity, draperies of exquisite fabric were seen torn by the roots of trees; other treasures, sunk into a miry bed, required to be dug out. There were not pillagers enough to grasp the spoil.

35. Those who had been the first to fly, were now overtaken; among them, many women leading their little children by the hand. In the higher class of fugitives, were three maiden ladies, the daughters of Ochus, a predecessor of Darius; fallen long since, from the splendour which surrounded their father's throne, by no small vicissitude; fortune now sternly aggravated their calamities. Members of the deposed and reigning families intermingled in the struggle to escape—the wife of Ochus—the daughter of Oxathres, brother to Darius; accompanying her was the wife of Artabazus, the first nobleman of Persia, with his young son Ilioneus. In the train of captives, were found the wife and son of Pharnabazus,

* Between the reigns of Ochus and Darius, the throne was filled for a short interval by Arses, (or Arsames,) the youngest son of Ochus. See ante, p. 162.

to whom Darius had deputed the sovereignty of the coast; the three daughters of Mentor; together with the wife and son of that illustrious commander, Memnon. Here, also, were made prisoners several Athenians, who, contrary to the treaty with Alexander, had sided with Persia; Aristogiton*, Dropides, and Iphicrates, each of high birth and distinguished reputation. The Lacedæmonians, Pausippus and Onomastorides, with Monimus and Callicratides, who fell at the same time into the victor's power, ranked among their countrymen, as men equally considerable.

The coined money taken amounted to two thousand and sixty talents †. The wrought silver was equal to five hundred talents in weight. There were taken, bearing away burthens, thirty thousand porters, and seven thousand pack-horses or other cattle.

But the celestial arbitors of vengeance promptly visited with punishment the betrayer

* Arrian varies from Curtius in the names of the Grecian deputies taken: but among the prisoners subsequently made at the battle of Arbela, he enumerates several mentioned in the list above. Arrian names no more than Iphicrates the Athenian, Euthycles the Spartan, with Thessaliscus and Dionysodorus, Thebans, as taken at this place.

† From the comparative smallness of this sum, commentators have supposed the text to be corrupted. One conjectural emendator is willing to read SIXTY-TWO THOUSAND.

of so much wealth. For an individual, to whom the governor had disclosed his perfidious practices, retaining, it would appear, due allegiance to his unfortunate sovereign, cut off the traitor's head, and carried it to Darius. This was a seasonable satisfaction to the prince whose confidence had been abused: he was revenged of his enemy, and he perceived that fidelity was not extinguished in all his subjects.

QUINTUS CURTIUS.

BOOK IV.

THE SIEGE AND DESTRUCTION OF TYRE. THE REDUCTION OF GAZA. THE BATTLE OF ARBELA.

CHAP. I.

Darius escapes to the Euphrates. Alexander appoints a governor of Syria. Letters between Darius and Alexander. Abdalominus raised to the throne of Sidon. The renegade Amyntas invades Egypt, and perishes. Antigonus protects Lydia. Hostilities between Agis and Antipater.

1. DARIUS — recently at the head of so powerful an army, riding in his car, more in the manner of a victor in a triumphant procession, than of a general advancing to battle — passed with the hurry of a fugitive through districts, once filled with his numerous columns, now empty wastes, dreary with solitude. Few were the attendants of the king; for the flying army did not take one road; and as the king frequently changed horses, his followers, destitute of that advantage, could not keep pace

with him. When he reached Unchas*, he was received by four thousand Greeks; with these he proceeded hastily to the Euphrates; sensible that these provinces, only, would continue under his dominion, which he could anticipate the enemy in occupying†.

Meantime Alexander directed Parmenio, who had taken Damascus with its valuable treasures, to secure as well the place as the captives by a vigilant guard. He made Parmenio governor of Syria [Proper], otherwise called Cœle‡. The Syrians, not having yet sufficiently felt the scourge of war, spurned against the new sovereignty; but the revolt was speedily crushed, and they afterwards obeyed the imperial commands.

* From all the circumstances indicating local points in the advance and retreat of Darius, *Unchas* appears to be identified in position with the modern town of *Aëntab*, situate on the north-western edge of the immense plain of Sochos, where Darius lay encamped before the battle of Issus. Aëntab stands in a smaller plain surrounded by hills: from this place the FIRST gorge in the series of defiles leading through mount Amanus to the *pass of the forest* of Curtius, on the road to Issus and Castabala, is distant but about eight hours' journey at a caravan's pace, in a direction varying from due west by alternate curves, half north, and quarter south; the whole distance from the field of battle to Aëntab might be seventy miles.

† He marched by long journies to Thapsacus. *Arrian, lib. ii. cap.* 13.—From Aëntab Thapsacus bears south-east. Zeugma would, therefore, seem a more eligible point for the fugitives to cross at.

‡ *Cœle*, equivalent to the *cavern-like recess*, alluding to its situation between the mountains Libanus and Antilibanus.

The island Aradus likewise surrendered to Alexander. Strato, the king * of Aradus, possessed, as well, part of the continental coast, with some inland territory which stretched to a considerable distance. Alexander, having received these dominions into his allegiance, marched his army to the city of Marathos.

Here was delivered to him a letter from Darius, of which the haughty style highly incensed him. What chiefly irritated him, was, that Darius styled himself king, without addressing Alexander by that title. The Persian monarch rather demanded, than entreated, 'That Alexander would restore to him his mother, wife, and child; offering, for their ransom, as much money as all Macedon was worth. With regard to the empire, if Alexander were so inclined, he would contest it once more in the field. If Alexander could be impressed by salutary counsel, he would be content with his own dominions, and would retire from the frontiers of that kingdom which was the rightful possession of another; he would become the friend and ally of Darius, who was

* Arrian makes Strato—not the king, but the son of Gerostratus the king; stating, that in the absence of his father, who had joined the Persian fleet under Autophradates with his ships, Strato negociated the surrender of Aradus, and of the neighbouring continental cities, which Gerostratus himself, deserting the cause of Darius, afterwards confirmed.

'prepared to interchange with him pledges of 'fidelity.

2. The Macedonian king replied by a letter to this effect:

"King Alexander to Darius.—That * Darius "whose name you have assumed, devastated "with slaughter the Grecian colonies in Ionia, "together with the coast of the Hellespont, "also inhabited by Greeks: then he trans- "ported his army across the sea, and invaded "Macedon and Greece. After him,—Xerxes, "a prince of the same family, attacked us with "an infinite number of Barbarians; and though "he was defeated in a naval engagement, yet "he left Mardonius in Greece, in his absence, "to pillage the cities, and burn our corn-fields. "Besides, who is not apprised, that my father

* The word *Celes*, met with in ancient copies of the original, though it has perplexed the critics, is supposed not to have been lightly introduced. It may be translated the *horseman;* but it is uncertain to which Darius it should be applied. The commentator Rademus, with Glareanus, reads it in the nominative case: as though Alexander had said, alluding to the trick by which the first Darius obtained the throne, "*That* Darius, the *horse-jockey*, whose name "you have taken." Freinshemius conjectures that it should be in the dative case, as belonging to Codomannus: "King Alexander to "Darius the *swift rider;*" adverting either to his having been originally employed under Ochus as a *government-messenger;* or, to the rapidity with which he escaped on *horseback* from the battle of Issus. As no sense in which the word could be applied, is worthy of the magnanimity of Alexander, it seems proper to reject it wholly from the text.

" was assassinated by those whom you had cor-
" rupted with your money? You [Persians!]
" conduct war on an impious plan; for, though
" you do not want arms, you set a price on the
" heads of your enemies. Thus you, [Darius!]
" lately while you had that immense army, of-
" fered a thousand talents to hire a man to kill
" me*. Not the aggressor, I combat to crush
" that kind of hostility †. The gods, always
" auspicious to the just, have already reduced
" under my dominion great part of Asia, and
" given me a victory over you in person.
" Though you have no claim to kind offices
" from me, since you have not conducted your-
" self towards me by the laws of war, yet if
" you come as a suppliant, I promise that you
" shall receive your mother, wife, and children,
" without ransom. I know how to conquer,
" and how to alleviate the calamities of the
" conquered. Do you fear to place yourself in
" our power? Hostages from us shall secure
" the inviolability of your person, coming and
" returning. For the future, when you write

* Ante, p. 253.

† The translator has moulded this sentence so as not to put it on worse terms with fact than state declarations usually are: the original, *Repello igitur bellum non infero*, is diametrically opposite to truth. To have been literally *forced into the field to defend himself from attack*, Alexander would have deemed a reproach; and the beginning of his letter tends to justify the invasion of Persia.

"to me, remember, that you are addressing "not merely a king, but your king." Thersippus was charged with this letter.

From Marathos, Alexander descended into Phœnicia, where he received the submission of the town of Byblon.

3. Thence he marched to Sidon, a city celebrated on account of its antiquity, and the glory reflected on it from its founders *. Strato, its king, was secretly sold to the Persians; his recent submission had been rather a temporizing compliance with the inclinations of his subjects, than a voluntary act; therefore Alexander deemed him unworthy of reigning. The Macedonian victor authorized Hephæstion to raise to the vacant throne that individual among the Sidonians † most distinguished by merit. Hephæstion was lodged and entertained in the house of two brothers, young men of brilliant reputation among their fellow-citizens. To them he offered the sovereignty; but they successively refused it, on the ground, that it was contrary to the laws of the country to ele-

* Respecting the origin of that, and Tyre, see below, sect. 18.

† Justin agrees with Curtius, in laying the scene of this transaction in Sidon. Diodorus, relating a similar story, places the parties in Tyre; Plutarch, in Paphos: these are evidently both inaccurate: we have the testimony of Arrian, that Alexander pardoned Azelmicus, king of Tyre; and none of the *original* writers of Alexander's life ever conveyed him to Paphos.

vate to that dignity any other than a member of the royal family. Hephæstion, admiring that greatness of soul which induced them to slight what others employ fire and slaughter to obtain, thus spoke: " Fortify those virtuous " principles, till now without example, through " which you can perceive, how much better it " is to reject a diadem, than to accept it. " Name, however, some person of the regal " line, who may remember, when he is king, " that he was indebted for his power to you." But though they witnessed many servilely courting the favourites of Alexander, and ambitiously grasping at the kingdom with impatient solicitude,—they declared, that none deserved it better than Abdalominus, who, though remotely related to the royal family, was reduced to work as a gardener in the suburbs for a small stipend. His penury, not an uncommon case, had resulted from his probity. Intent on his daily labour, he had not yet heard the clashing of arms which shook all Asia.

4. On a sudden, the two disinterested Sidonians, bearing the robes and ensigns of royalty, enter the garden, from which Abdalominus was rooting up the weeds. Having saluted him king, one of them said: " This splendid dress " I bring in exchange for your sordid cover-

" ing: wash from your body its habitual dirt. " Assume the mind of a king; but, in your " merited dignity, retain your frugality and " moderation. When seated on the throne, " with the life and death of the citizens in " your power, forget not the condition in " which you were when a sceptre was placed " in your hand, nor the purposes for which you " are appointed king." This address affected Abdalominus as a dream: recovering himself, he asked them, if they were in their senses?—then, how they could so wantonly ridicule him? In the stupor of surprise and doubt, he showed no readiness to exchange his squalor for elegance; but passively submitted to the necessary ablutions, and to be habited in an embroidered mantle of purple and gold. Having received from the same attendants oaths of allegiance, in earnest now a king, he accompanied them to the palace. Rumour quickly circulated the transaction. Some it gratified: in others it excited indignation. The opulent acrimoniously displayed to Alexander's friends the degrading occupation and poverty of Abdalominus. Alexander ordered him to be brought into his presence: having deliberately surveyed him, he said: " My friend, your air and deportment are " not at variance with the account of your ex- " traction: allow me to inquire with what de-

" gree of contentment you bore indigence." Abdalominus replied: " Would to God I may " bear the weight of a kingdom with equal " tranquillity! These hands sufficiently mi- " nistered to my necessities: I possessed no- " thing; I wanted nothing." The Macedonian king, perceiving in this answer indications of a noble spirit, not only ordered that the royal furniture of Strato should be delivered to Abdalominus, but also enriched him with presents out of the Persian plunder, and annexed to his jurisdiction, as king of Sidon, a contiguous tract of country.

5. Meanwhile, that Amyntas, whom we formerly mentioned to have deserted the cause of Alexander for that of the Persians, effected his flight to Tripolis *, with four thousand Greeks, who had, since the late battle, adhered to his fortunes. Having embarked, he sailed with these troops to Cyprus. And observing how, in that conjuncture of affairs, every one appropriated whatever he could seize, as though it were rightfully his property, he determined to invade Egypt; the enemy of both kings; veering with the versatile aspect of the times. He exhorted his soldiers to undertake with confidence this great enterprise, reminding

* This city and sea-port was founded by the united efforts of three cities, Tyre, Sidon, and Aradus; whence its name.

them, 'That Sabaces, the satrap of Egypt, 'had fallen in the engagement; and that the 'garrison-forces of the Persians were feeble, 'and without a leader:' and he promised, 'That the Egyptians, habitually dissatisfied 'with their governors, would receive them 'as deliverers, not as enemies.'

Necessity drove him round the circle of experiment; for when disaster has destroyed the first pleasing creations of speculation and hope, —man, disgusted with the present, embraces new plans, and with sanguine impatience expects the future. Catching this spirit, the soldiers unanimously exclaimed: "Lead us where "you think proper!" Before their ardour and renewed hopes could subside, Amyntas wafted them into the harbour of Pelusium; pretending to the garrison that he had been sent forward by Darius. Having obtained Pelusium, he proceeded to Memphis. On the rumour of his arrival, the Egyptians, whom national levity fitted for innovation, and disqualified for achievement, assembled from the villages and towns, designing to coöperate with him in expelling the Persian garrisons. The Persian garrisons, surprized and alarmed, did not, however, abandon the hope of preserving Egypt. But Amyntas forced them, defeated in battle, to fly into Memphis. From the camp which he had pit-

ched *, he then drew off his victorious army, to scour and pillage the country; and as all things remained in the usual posture †, all the property of the enemy was destroyed. At this conjuncture, Mazaces raised his followers from the consternation into which their late defeat had plunged them, by representing to them, that the invaders, elated by their recent victory, had incautiously dispersed themselves: he then exhorted his troops not to despair of dislodging such as were before the city, and regaining every thing which had been lost. This counsel was not more seasonable than the enterprize was successful. The Greeks, with their leader, were slaughtered to a man. Thus heavy was the retribution on Amyntas for breaking his faith with the king to whom he went over, and the king from whom he basely withdrew his allegiance.

* *Castris positis.* In a work where the *ablative absolute* perpetually recurs, a translator is in danger of construing it where the author intended a *simple ablative with a preposition implied.*

† The original, *ac velut* IN MEDIO *omnibus positis, hostium cuncta agebantur,* is termed by Freinshemius a hopeless passage: but, from the view of the translator, its obscurity vanishes, if he may be allowed to construe IN MEDIO, either to signify *in the usual posture, i. e.* in a state of security and peace; or as equivalent to *in the open country,* in contradistinction to fortresses, whither, had the invasion been foreseen, the portable property might have been carried. The interpretation in the text differs nothing from a recognised acceptation of *medio,* if the word be regarded as an adjective, and *habitu,* or any substantive of the same import, be understood.

6. Now, the satraps of Darius, who survived the battle of Issus—having, by great exertion, collected their scattered adherents, and made a levy of young men from Cappadocia* and Paphlagonia—were struggling to reconquer Lydia. Antigonus, Alexander's lieutenant there, had weakened the garrisons by detaching from them great numbers of soldiers to the king's army: but holding the Barbarians in contempt, he took the field against them. Fortune proved constant to the cause of Alexander. The Persians were defeated in three engagements, fought successively in as many provinces.

At the same time, the Macedonian fleet was summoned from the harbours of Greece, to fall upon the ships which Darius had sent out under Aristomenes, to retake the Hellespontian coast; and none of these escaped being captured or sunk. On the other hand, Pharnabazus, admiral of the chief Persian fleet, which comprized a hundred vessels, exacted a contribution in money from the Milesians; then sailing to the islands, Chios, Andros, and Syphnus, he introduced garrisons into each, and punished the inhabitants of each by a pecuniary mulct.

* Hence it would appear—either that when Alexander (ante, p. 289,) appointed a governor of Cappadocia, that province was but partially subdued; or, that a portion of the inhabitants, taking advantage of the difficulty of guarding, at once, many extended tracts of country, were now in a state of insurrection.

The war for universal empire between the two most powerful princes of Europe and Asia, affected Greece and Crete. Agis, king of Sparta —having embodied eight thousand Greeks, who had escaped from Cilicia, and were returned home—directed his arms against Antipater, Alexander's lieutenant over Macedon; and as the Cretans espoused this or that side, their cities were garrisoned, sometimes by Spartans, and sometimes by Macedonians. These were trivial contests, compared to the mighty conflict on which fortune seemed exclusively to attend as involving the final issue of all the others.

CHAP. II.

Embassy from the Tyrians. Commencement of the siege of Tyre. Alexander chastises the Arabs.

7. SYRIA subdued,—the Macedonians had dominion over all Phœnicia, excepting Tyre. The king was encamped upon the continent, from which a narrow sea divides the city. In splendour and extent, Tyre disdained competition with any of the cities of Syria or Phœnicia. Without any disposition to submit to

Alexander, it aspired to his alliance and friendship. While its ambassadors were the bearers to him of a crown of gold, the inhabitants hospitably conveyed to him a large quantity of provisions for his army. He desired his officers to take charge of these, as presents from his friends. He then, with an air of courtesy, informed the ambassadors, 'That he proposed to 'offer a sacrifice to Hercules:' (whom the Tyrians adored as their chief deity;) 'that the 'kings of Macedon traced their descent from 'that god; and that he had been directed by 'the oracle to that act of devotion.' The ambassadors answered, 'That there was on the 'outside the town, in the place named Palætyrus, a temple in which he might perform that 'solemnity.' This answer incensed Alexander, who, on slighter provocations, could not controul his anger: "I perceive," said he, "that "reposing on the security of your situation, "because you inhabit an island, you despise "these land forces: but I will shortly show "you that your place is part of the continent: "know, that either you must open the town "to me, or I will take it by assault."

This declaration terminated the audience: some of the king's friends, however, strenuously admonished the Tyrian ministers, that it would be politic to imitate the example of Syria and

Phœnicia, and admit the king into their territories. The Tyrians, confiding in the strength of the place, resolved to endure a siege.

8. The streit which separated Tyre from the continent, was four stadia broad; it was much exposed to the south-west wind, which drove crowding waves from the main sea against the shore: nor does any thing more obstruct the work by which the Macedonians prepare to connect the island and the continent than this wind. When the sea is unruffled, to construct the mole is difficult: but when this swell comes raging in, all the materials thrown into it are carried away by its violence. Nor could the pier be so firmly built as to prevent the waters from insinuating between the joints, corroding and sapping the work: and when the blast more fiercely raged, the flood beat over the top of the pier. There was another difficulty not less trying. The sea by which the city was encircled was of great depth: thus against the walls* and towers battering shafts could be directed only from ships; and the ships, dismissed, were at a distance:—Scaling ladders could not be applied; for the wall running, strait as a precipice, down into the sea, left no

* Its walls exceeded an hundred feet in height, and were eighteen miles in circumference.—GILLIES's *History of Ancient Greece*, chap. xxxviii.

basement on which they could be planted. If Alexander had brought up his fleet, it might have been forced off by missile weapons from the forts; nor could engines floating on so agitated a flood act with precision.

At this juncture, an incident, not immaterial, heightened the courage of the Tyrians. Ambassadors arrived from the Carthaginians, to offer, according to their national custom, the annual sacrifice to Hercules; for Tyre, which had founded and colonized Carthage, was venerated by the latter, as the parent state*. The Punic ministers exhorted the Tyrians to defend their city with tenacity, and Carthage would promptly send them succours: indeed, at that time powerful divisions of the Carthaginian navy commanded several seas.

9. Having decided on war, the Tyrians dispose along the walls and on the towers their

* Authorities concur in ascribing the foundation of Carthage to Dido, while they disagree as to the time. "This probably arose," says Petavius, "from the building of the city having been a gradual "work, carried on at intervals, and finished in parts. As a cor- "rection of the common statement, I should date the emigration of "Dido into Africa in the 7th year of Pygmalion's reign. *Bosra*, "the name of the fortified town which she there built, the Greeks "converted into *Byrsa*, to countenance the fiction which they added. "Afterwards this place was called *Carthada*, as we learn from "Solinus; that is, the *new city*: hence *Carthago*. The seventh "year of Pygmalion corresponds to A. C. 890, one hundred and "fourteen years before the first Olympiad."

machines, distribute arms to their young men, and set in motion the forges and foundries, summoning to them the artificers, of which Tyre contained a great number. Providing grappling-irons, crows, and other instruments for the defence of fortresses, the whole city rung with preparations for war. At one of the forges, as the workmen were blowing the furnace, in which was a quantity of iron, streams of blood are represented to have issued from under the flames: which the Tyrians interpreted into an ill omen to the Macedonians. Further, in the Macedonian camp, it happened, that one of Alexander's soldiers, in breaking his bread, observed drops of blood to burst from the inside: The king, not unalarmed,—Aristander, the most skilful among the diviners, answered, 'That if the blood had flown from without, it 'would have portended disaster to the Mace-'donians; but as it sprung internally, it was a 'presage of destruction to the city which the 'army was destined to attack.'

His fleet on a remote station, and a tedious siege in prospect, which would materially interfere with his other designs,—Alexander sent heralds to the Tyrians, inviting them to accede to peaceful conditions. The Tyrians, in violation of the law of nations, murdered these messengers, and cast their bodies into the sea.

Exasperated at the atrocious crime, the king determined to prosecute the siege.

But it is necessary, as a preliminary work, to join by a pier the city and the continent. When this immense labour was assigned to the soldiers, they became oppressed with despondency; they deemed, that even with celestial aid they could not fill up so deep a sea. 'Whence 'could they fetch stones large enough, or tim-'ber of sufficient length? It would exhaust 'regions to furnish materials for such a mole. 'Should the narrow channel between the island 'and continent be contracted, the sea would 'burst through with augmented fury.' Alexander, who understood how to lead the minds of his followers, announced to them, 'That 'Hercules in a dream, taking him by the hand, 'had appeared to conduct him into the city.' Alexander adverted to the murder of his heralds, in defiance of the law of nations; he asked his soldiers, 'Whether they would suffer 'a single town to arrest their career of victory?' He then gave it in charge to his captains, individually, to extinguish the spirit of murmuring in their bands. The animation of his followers restored,—he commenced the work*.

* Not merely by issuing orders; but, setting a personal pattern of exertion, he carried, at the head of his men, a bin filled with earth. *Polyæn.* lib. iv.

At hand, the ruins of the ancient town *, was an inexhaustible magazine of stone; and mount Anti-Libanus† supplied them with materials for rafts and wooden turrets.

10. Rising from the bottom of the sea, the mole had already swelled to the magnitude of a mountain‡; still it had not reached the surface

* A peculiarity in the prediction, [Ezekiel, xxvi. 17, 21,] "That "[the first] Tyre should be thrown into the sea; so that, though "sought for, it should never more be found," was not fulfilled till near three centuries afterwards, when Alexander employed part of the *ruins of this capital* [destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar] to raise a stupendous mole, reaching three quarters of a mile from the coast to the walls of New Tyre, built on the opposite island.—GILLIES's *History of the World, from Alexander to Augustus*, vol. i. p. 161.

> ———— Her lofty domes no more,
> Not ev'n the ruins of her pomp remain;
> Not ev'n the dust they sunk in; by the breath
> Of the OMNIPOTENT offended, hurl'd
> Down to the bottom of the stormy deep.
>
> DYER's *Fleece*, book ii.

Some passages in the sacred Writings, which predict the destruction of the second Tyre, are pointed out, ante, p. 260, n.

† Libanus. *Curt.*—By a geographical error, he has confounded the two.—Anti-Libanus, which begins above Sidon, stretches as far as Ituræa: whereas, Libanus, rising near the ancient Tripolis, and extending eastward, is distant the whole breadth of Cœle-Syria from Anti-Libanus.

‡ Curtius says, that it had increased *in altitudinem montis:* but Arrian confines the depth of the channel to three fathoms; (a Greek fathom is, according to Herodotus, six feet; according to Pliny, ten feet;) there is, therefore, a departure from accuracy in the original phrase— unless we can suppose that a considerable mass of the materials, washed from the pier, but remaining in the channel, might

of the water; and the further it extended from the shore, the greater quantity of materials the increased depth of the sea absorbed. During the progress of the work, the Tyrians came out in their boats, and tauntingly reproached the Macedonians, 'Men so famed in arms, carrying burdens on their backs like pack-horses!' They also asked them, 'Whether Alexander was superior to Neptune?' These insults but stimulated the soldiers. And now the pier began to be conspicuous above the water, to expand in breadth, and to approach the town.

When the Tyrians saw the vast dimensions of the pier, of which, while it was in progress, they had not been aware, they rowed in skiffs round the work, yet incomplete, attacking with their darts those soldiers who were upon it. They, with impunity, wounded several from their boats, in which they could advance and retire at will; and the Macedonians were forced to suspend their labour to defend themselves. The king, therefore, caused skins and sails to be hung up before the workmen, to protect them from the darts; and he erected at the

have made it, through after-ages, comparatively shallow. The blocks of stone used in the foundations of the two piers must have been favourable to the constant accumulation of shelves of sand throughout the streit, so that no admeasurement, taken in Arrian's time, could be a true criterion of the original depth.

head of the pier two wooden turrets, whence the Macedonians might annoy with missile weapons the enemy's boats passing underneath.

At a distant spot, the Tyrians, unperceived by the Macedonians, debarked some soldiers and cut in pieces a party fetching stone. And an Arabian horde attacking, on mount Anti-Libanus, Alexander's scattered men, killed about thirty, and carried off a few prisoners. This affair, concurring with a desire to avoid appearing to loiter before a single city, induced the king to divide his army. He committed the siege to Perdiccas and Craterus; and marched in person with a flying detachment into Arabia *.

* Arrian makes the excursion against the Arabs take up the time only of eleven days Alexander could not make any local attack, calculated to awe the Arabs along an extensive line of communication, better than by moving on Petra, the mart of the caravans with merchandize from Arabia Felix and India; but as the distance from Tyre was not less than 200 British miles, the interval of eleven days may seem scarcely sufficient for a flying detachment to go and return. But shall we rate the expedition of Alexander, by which he effected such great results, lower than that of the modern Persian cavalry, as described by Major Scott Waring? "The length of the Persian "marches is surprising; they think nothing of 40 or 50 miles a day; "and it is a circumstance well known, that they have, on urgent "occasions, marched 70 miles for three days together. They march "of course without baggage; but the usual rate that caravans travel "in Persia is not less than 35 miles a day."—*Tour to Sheeraz*, p. 84.

In the reign of Trajan, the Roman empire began to have a province called Arabia; it was conquered by his lieutenant Palma; its capital was Petra.

CHAP. III.

The siege of Tyre continued.

11. MEANWHILE, the Tyrians deposited in the stern part of a large ship a heavy pile of stones and ballast, in order to cause its head to float high: they then coated it thickly with pitch and sulphur*: urged forward by oars, assisted with a press of sail in a favourable wind, it was promptly brought in contact with the pier. Having fired the forecastle, those on board leaped into boats which attended to receive them. The fire-ship spouted its flames widely, which, before they could be counteracted, had seized the wooden turrets and other works at the head of the mole. Those Tyrians who had escaped into boats, plied the works with torches and other blazing combustibles. The conflagration now invaded the highest stories of the turrets, where some of the Macedonians fell victims to it; others flinging off their armour, plunged down into the sea,—and the

* They filled a large hulk with dry twigs, pitch, sulphur, and other combustibles: towards the prow, they raised two masts, each armed with a double yard, from whose extremities were suspended vast caldrons, filled with whatever might aggravate the conflagration. *Gillies*, after *Arrian*.

Tyrians, desirous to take these prisoners, bruised their hands with clubs and stones, while they were swimming; and, when they had rendered them unable to hold weapons, took them into their boats. Nor were the timber-frames only consumed: a boisterous wind conspired to complete the destruction of the bulwark: the tempest-driven surge, having shook the articulations of the work, forced a passage through its centre. When the stones, on which the earth had been deposited, were washed away, the whole structure sunk into the deep; Alexander, when he had returned from Arabia, could discern scarcely any traces of so vast a pile.

12. As usual among partners in distress, every one censured all the rest, when it had been as reasonable to have inveighed against the sea.

Commencing a new pier, Alexander directed that its head should meet the south-west wind, to which the former pier presented its side*: thus the other works lay sheltered behind the front as behind a rampart. He constructed it with an increased degree of breadth, that the towers built in the middle might stand out of

* Hence, if the former pier projected strait towards the city, this must have had an oblique direction.

the reach of the enemy's darts. Whole trees, of which the branches were of vast dimensions, were with their branches cast into the sea; on these the Macedonians let down massy stones: they then piled a second layer of trees; and upon these they deposited a superstratum of earth: and proceeded — with successive layers of trees, stones, and earth — to increase and cement the work, till the whole was a consolidated mass.

Meanwhile, the Tyrians omitted no exertion — had recourse to every stratagem, which might frustrate the labour of the Macedonians. The expedient, which most availed them, was to employ expert divers, who entering the water, at a distance, unperceived by the enemy, glided by submarine swimming to the pier: having fixed cramp-irons to the slenderer branches which projected from between the stones, the divers pulled out the branches; and many heavy materials, dragged away with them, sunk into the deep. Lightened thus of their incumbent loads, the trunks of trees and wooden piles were easily displaced; the foundation gone, the whole work, which had been held together by the timber-frames, became a wreck.

While Alexander, mortified, was deliberat-

ing, whether to prosecute, or to raise the siege, —his fleet arrived from Cyprus*; and Cleander, as opportunely, with fresh recruits from Greece. His fleet of one hundred and eighty† vessels, the king divided into two squadrons: the left, Phytagoras, king of Crete, commanded jointly with Craterus: the right, Alexander manœuvred in the royal quinquereme‡. The Tyrians, though possessed of a fleet, durst not venture a sea-fight with Alexander, but ranged their triremes under cover of their fortresses: three of the more exposed, the king attacked and sunk.

13. On the following day, Alexander advanced his fleet to the walls, of which he bat-

* Compare with 1 *Maccab.* i. 1.—Cyprus is the Chittim of Scripture, under which Hebrew word is couched *Citium*, the name by which a royal city and kingdom in Cyprus was known to the Greeks. See, *ante*, p. 187. "*Ships shall come from* CHITTIM, *and shall afflict Assur, and shall afflict Eber, and he also shall perish for ever.*"—Num. xxiv. 24. The rev. and learned Dr. Henley, lately deceased, promised the world a dissertation on the particular application of this prophecy to the present naval armament. *Letter* cited in *Travels by Edward Clarke*, vol. ii. 4to. p. 333, n. (7.)

† Arrian makes the fleet two hundred and twenty-four; and enumerates the contingent squadrons which formed it; one hundred and twenty ships from Cyprus; eighty furnished by the Phœnicians; ten by the Lydians; as many from Rhodes; three from Soli and Mallos: with a galley from Macedon of fifty oars.

‡ *See* ADDITIONAL NOTES (K).

tered the whole circumference with his engines, chiefly employing the shock of the rams. The Tyrians promptly closed the chasms with blocks of stone; they also began to build an interior wall, to retire behind, should the former give way. But on every side annoyance pressed them; the mole approached within the range of a dart; a fleet invested the walls; land and sea-forces threatening to overwhelm them. The Macedonians had so connected quadriremes, two by two, that while their heads touched, their sterns were kept diverging; the interstice between the hulls was floored by sail-yards and planks, strongly corded together; upon these were laid bridges, as platforms, for the soldiers. Thus disposed, the quadriremes were towed to the city. From these floating bridges, darts were showered on the besieged by the soldiers, themselves out of danger, under cover of the prows. It was at midnight, that Alexander ordered the fleet, thus appointed, to invest the city; and when the Tyrians saw the vessels standing in from every direction, they were unnerved by despair:—on a sudden, the sky is veiled by heavy clouds, and the portion of chequered light which had prevailed, is intercepted. The sea trembles; its agitations gradually increase; now the wind, rising in vehe-

mence, aggravates the tumult of the waters, and the vessels dash against each other. The bands are strained by which the quadriremes are connected: they break, the platforms fall with a stupendous crash, and the soldiers are swept with them into the deep. Nor could the gallies, which remained lashed together, be managed in the dark tempest. The soldiers interrupt the manœuvres of the seamen, and the rowers impede the soldiers in their duty; and as it happens in similar cases, the skilful take orders from the ignorant. For the pilots, accustomed to command in their province, menaced now with death, obey landmen. At length, the sea, as conquered by the perseverance of the rowers, resigns the rescued gallies, which gain the shore, the greater part much shattered.

14. About this time arrived thirty deputies from Carthage, bearing to the besieged friendly assurances rather than aid; for they announced, that the Carthaginians, embarrassed by the invasion of their own territories, were fighting, not for empire, but for security. At that time the Syracusans* were ravaging Africa, and had

* The *name* of the invaders would appear to be a mistake; as we do not elsewhere read, that the *Syracusans* invaded Africa, except when, under Agathocles, tyrant of Sicily, they carried terror to the

encamped not far from the walls of Carthage. The Tyrians were, however, not depressed, although disappointed of powerful assistance: but delivered to the ambassadors from Carthage* their wives and children, to be transported thither; better able themselves, now, to meet the common danger, since that which was dearest to them was placed beyond its reach.

At this conjuncture, one of the citizens declared in the assembly, that, in a vision which he had seen in sleep, Apollo, whom the Tyrians adored with great devotion, appeared in the act of departing from the town†, — and the pier which the Macedonians had constructed, was transformed into a forest. On this slender au-

gates of Carthage: this happened, Olymp. cxvii. 3, two-and-twenty years after the fall of Tyre.—*Freinshemius* after *Reineccius* and *Raderus*.—But see PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION, p. xxxiv. sect. 11.

* According to *Diod. Sic. lib.* xvii. *s.* 46; and *Justin. lib.* xi. *c.* x.; these women and children, amounting to a great number, were embarked to take refuge in Carthage at the commencement of the siege, and before the ambassadors had arrived. Diodorus adds, that a proportion of the more aged inhabitants took passage with the other non-combatants.

† Plutarch relates (*Alex. cap.* 41.) that several of the Tyrians heard Apollo say, when sleep suspended every faculty but imagination, *That he would pass over to Alexander; nor were the things then acting in the city such as he could sanction.* There was a tradition among the Ancients, that a similar fear oppressed superstitious minds when Troy was on the eve of destruction: the gods were seen carrying their own statues from their own temples.

thority, inclined, out of fear, to entertain gloomy presentiments, they fastened the image, bound with a golden chain, to the altar of Hercules, their tutelar deity, as expecting by his aid to detain Apollo. The Carthaginians having carried off this image from Syracuse *, had set it up in their mother country; for they were accustomed to adorn Tyre and Carthage, equally, with the spoils of other states.

15. A sacrifice, which had been discontinued by the Tyrians many ages, and one which I must contemplate as abhorred by the gods, some individuals proposed to revive,—that of offering up to Saturn a free-born male child: this kind of sacrifice, rather this unholy sacrilege, the Carthaginians, who imbibed it from their founders, are represented to have used till their city was destroyed; and, now, had not the *aldermen*, who controulled public proceedings, opposed this accursed superstition, it had triumphed over humanity.

Urgent necessity, a tutor more effectual than all the arts which descend to us, not only

* Unless there were any temple in the suburbs of Syracuse from which this figure of Apollo could have been taken, this is also an error; for the Carthaginians, though they often besieged, never reduced Syracuse. Diodorus relates, that the Geloni originally possessed this image, which ancient superstition seems to have prized, as affording, like the palladium, protection by its presence.

made the Tyrians fly to usual methods of defence, but suggested to them new. Against the gallies lashed together*, which rode close to their walls, they prepared long beams, armed with crows, grappling-irons, hooks, and sithes, fastened by cords; when the beams had been shot forward by balistæ, they slackened the cords†. The hooks and sithes hanging down from the beams, cut in pieces the men and [tore asunder] the gallies. Further, the besieged heated brazen targets to a red heat, which, filled with burning sand and boiling slime, they suddenly discharged from the walls. None of their pestiferous devices was more terrible: whenever the burning sand insinuated between the armour and the body, it was impossible to dislodge it; and where the caustic touched, it consumed the flesh: the wretches tortured by it, flinging down their weapons, and tearing off every defensive covering, lay,

* *Implicanda navigia.* ORIG.——If this construction can be supported, it would appear that Alexander was not deterred by the disasters related in p. 367, from repeating the experiment of floating platforms.

† The translator *supposes*, that the destructive appendages were bound close to the beam, to allow it to slide freely in the engine which projected it; but that as soon as the beam was driven out far enough to impend over the enemy, the cords, loosened, hung down with the weapons, and the beam worked with a sawing motion.

unrevenged, receiving incessant wounds. The crows and grappling irons shot from engines swept off a number of men.

CHAP. IV.

Tyre is taken. Its antiquity. Sketch of its Colonies. Its state when Curtius wrote.

16. NOW, weary of the siege, to raise it, and strike at Egypt, was a purpose which the king began to revolve. What though he had, with unparalleled celerity, overrun Asia—Before the walls of a single town he was still fixed, and the opportunity to execute imperial designs was escaping. On the other hand, he felt that it were as much a disgrace to retire from the city foiled, as to linger before it: His reputation, by which he had effected more than by military strength, would be essentially impaired, were Tyre to subsist a memorial that he might be overcome. Wherefore, that he might leave no resource unemployed, he prepared for action a great number of ships, conveying the choicest of his soldiers on board. At this time it happened that a whale, of no ordinary size, after having been seen to beat about the channel, laid itself against the pier, with its back pro-

jecting above the water, so as to be conspicuous to both parties. Then, near the head of the pier, it plunged again into the sea; alternately displaying and concealing itself, it finally sunk from view near the walls of the city. Both parties construed the appearance of the monster as an auspice to themselves. The Macedonians concluded, that it had marked the track in which they should extend the mole:—the Tyrians imagined, that Neptune was vindicating his right to the invaded deep, and that suddenly as he had snatched away the whale, the mole would fall to ruin: under this delusion, they proceeded to festivity, aud gorged themselves with wine. At sun-rise they manned their vessels, which they had adorned with garlands of flowers, confident of victory, and rejoicing prematurely.

17. Fortuitously the king had appointed his divided fleet to different stations*, leaving upon the [Sidonian] shore thirty vessels of secondary rate†. Of these, the Tyrians captured two, and imminently endangered the remainder; till Alexander, whom the clamour had reached,

* One before that harbour of Tyre which looked towards Egypt; and a second squadron watched the port facing Sidon.

† But among these, if we credit Arrian, was the quinquereme of the king of Cyprus, and not a few smaller gallies; Alexander having appointed the Cyprian fleet to this station. Still the king might, by a *ruse*, for a moment weaken this division to invite attack.

brought up his fleet to the shore. Of the Macedonian reinforcement, one quinquereme advancing with velocity, shot a-head singly. As soon as the Tyrians perceived this, they sent against it two gallies, one on each quarter. The quinquereme plying its oars to drive against one of them*, was itself severely struck by the adverse prow, but, in its turn, grappled the assailant. The other galley, unconfined, having swung round, to have a free impetus, was preparing to attack her on the other side; when — most opportunely — one of Alexander's triremes so furiously charged the galley bearing upon the quinquereme, that the Tyrian pilot was shook from the helm into the sea. The Macedonian vessels coming up in numbers, and Alexander appearing in person,— the Tyrians *backed water* with their oars; and having with much difficulty disengaged their grappled galley, all their vessels hove about together to escape into port. Alexander pursued with adhesive constancy; but could not enter the harbour, on account of the missile weapons

* In ancient times the success of a naval engagement principally depended on the activity of the rowers and the skill of the pilots, whose object it always was to dart, with great violence, the sharp beak or prow of the ship, armed with brass or iron, against the sides of the enemy's. By a repetition of these assaults, and sometimes at one stroke—while they themselves, with superior dexterity, eluded such a shock—they shattered or sunk the vessel of their opponents.

by which he was repelled from the walls above. He, however, either sunk or captured nearly their whole fleet.

18. He allowed his soldiers two days' repose. He then put his ships in motion, and advanced his engines, that with both he might press the now appalled enemy. In this attack, the king posted himself on a lofty turret, and with exemplary courage met combining dangers; conspicuous by the ensigns of royalty, and by his splendid armour, he was the mark at which the besieged chiefly aimed. Altogether a worthy spectacle by his achievements, many conflicting on the battlements he killed with his spear; others, who engaged him hand to hand with sword and buckler, he precipitated by a stroke into the deep; for the turret on which he fought almost touched the enemy's walls.

The battering rams had now, by incessant shocks, disturbed the cement which had embodied the stones of the tottering fortifications: the fleet had entered the port*: and several parties of Macedonians had taken possession of towers which the besieged had evacuated:—the Tyrians sink under so many concurrent calamities; a crowd fly to the temple as an asylum; others, barring up the entrances to

* The Phœnicians broke into the Egyptian, the Cyprians into the Sidonian, harbour.

their houses, exercise the wretched freedom of dying as they choose: some rush furiously on the troops pouring in, resolved not to perish unavenged. The majority, however, ascended the roofs of the houses, whence they hurled down on the enemy ponderous stones, or such other things as accident armed them with.

Alexander gave orders to spare those only who had taken refuge in the temples, and to fire the houses. After this had been proclaimed, still none, capable of bearing arms, sought protection from the gods. Boys and virgins filled the sanctuaries: the men, every one in the doorway of his own habitation, stood ready victims to slaughtering rage. A multitude was, however, saved by the Sidonians, who made a part of Alexander's armament. These had entered the city with the victors: but remembering their relationship with the Tyrians, (inasmuch as they believed Agenor to have founded both*

* Justin reports that Sidon derived its name from the abundance of fish on the coast, *Sidon* being the Phœnician word for a *fish*. Josephus makes its founder to have been Sidon, the eldest son of Canaan: living later, Agenor was contemporary with some of the first *judges* over Israel. But Sidon might have been founded by the son of Canaan, and be afterwards rebuilt or enlarged by Agenor. Compare with *Genes.* x. 15; xlix. 13;—*Joshua*, xix. 28;—*Isai.* xxiii. *passim.* M. de Sainte-Croix has remarked, that Homer speaks of the Sidonians: (*Odyss.* l. iv. 84; l. xiii. 285,) but makes no mention of the Tyrians; and that Tyre was built a long while after Sidon, of which it was called the daughter.

cities,) they protected a number of the citizens by taking them on board their ships, and clandestinely conveying them to Sidon. Fifteen thousand were thus saved. How profusely human blood was spilt, may be estimated from this,—that six thousand slain were counted within the walls. The rage of the king was monstrous: two thousand, which the mad hour of slaughter failed to destroy, he ordered to be nailed to crosses along the sea-shore; a lamentable spectacle even to the victors*. Alexander spared the ambassadors from Carthage; but declared against it a war, of which the urgent importance of his previous undertakings forced him to postpone the prosecution.

Olymp. cxii. 1. *A. C.* 332. *Ætat. Alex.* 25. *Reg.* 5.

19. Tyre was taken in the seventh month after the commencement of the siege; a city which the antiquity of its origin, and the numerous vicissitudes in its history, have combined to render interesting to posterity. It had been built by Agenor, and long held the trident not only of the neighbouring sea, but of all the seas on which its fleets appeared. If we credit tradition, the Tyrians were the first people that

* Justin, to assign a cause for this procedure, states these victims to inhumanity, to have been of the families of a set of slaves who had formerly murdered their masters and usurped power in the state.

taught or acquired alphabetical writing*. Tyre had planted colonies over almost all the world: Carthage in Africa; Thebes in Bœotia; and Gades upon the ocean†. I believe that, unrestrained in their naval enterprizes, and exploring countries unknown to the rest of mankind, the Tyrians selected these remote seats for their youths, when their population had multiplied to excess: or, (for this allegation has been transmitted to us,) because their native country was subject to earthquakes, worn out with privations and inquietude, they were driven, at once emigrants and conquerors, to seek for themselves—in armed bodies—new and distant settlements. Having risen from many falls to be thus annihilated, even after this extinction,

* Many authors support this representation, while the majority dissent from it. The invention of letters has been ascribed to Noah: to Abraham: to Moses: to Cadmus. It may briefly be noticed, as tending to reconcile these contradictory statements, that of those classed among inventors, some either merely remodelled or rearranged the first-invented, or introduced new letters; others framed systems of hieroglyphics. Lastly; when the variety of alphabets which have been used in different times and places are considered, it is not surprizing that the original inventor of the divine art is obscured by a crowd of imitators and improvers. It is probable that Cadmus carried alphabetical writing into Greece, notwithstanding Dr. Marsh's contrary hypothesis.

† *Gades*, the modern *Cadiz*.—Curtius enumerates the more considerable. Of minor colonies, Leptis and Utica are mentioned by Pliny; Hippo and Adrumetum, by Sallust. Other writers add Tyros, in Sarmatia.

Tyre was reproduced. And now, a long peace making all its concerns flourish anew, it enjoys serenity under the mild protection of Rome.

CHAP. V.

Correspondence between Darius and Alexander. At the Isthmian games a crown is decreed to Alexander. Minor operations by his lieutenants.

20. AT this interval is delivered an epistle from Darius, who at length yields to the conqueror the title of king. He entreats him, 'To accept his daughter Statyra in marriage; 'offering, as a dowry, the whole tract of country between the Hellespont and the Halys*—; 'and declaring himself satisfied with the provinces eastward from that river. Did Alexander hesitate to accept this overture, the 'conqueror should know that fortune maintained no one attitude long; the greater an 'individual's felicity, the more has he to fear 'from violent envy. As a volatile bird is, by 'natural levity, buoyed up to to the skies: so, 'it was to be apprehended, Alexander could 'not restrain his juvenile and airy mind from 'extravagant elation. Nothing was more diffi-

* The boundaries of the ancient Lydian empire.

'cult than to know how to support success at 'such an age. Darius had many resources un- 'impaired, and might not always be circum- 'vented in a narrow defile. Alexander had still 'to force the Euphrates, the Tigris, the ARAXES, 'and the HYDASPES*; those great breastworks 'of the Persian empire; in the spacious plains, 'he would become ashamed of his scanty force. 'When would he penetrate to Media, Hyrca- 'nia, Bactriana, to the Indians who verge on 'the remote ocean? or to the Sogdians and 'Arachosians, known but by their names; as 'well as to the nations on the ridges of mount 'Caucasus and the banks of the Tanais? Were 'he to obtain undisputed admission to those 'countries, he would become old before he could 'traverse them all. Let him desist from sum- 'moning Darius to meet him, for when Darius 'comes, it will be to his ruin.' By the same heralds that had brought this letter, Alexander transmitted his reply. He reminded the Per- sian king, 'That he did not possess the terri- 'tory which he had tendered, having already 'lost what he offered to partition. The dowry, 'made up of Lydia, Ionia, Æolia, and the coast 'of the Hellespont, was previously, by con- 'quest, Alexander's. It belonged to the vic- 'torious to prescribe conditions, and to the

* *See* ADDITIONAL NOTES (L).

'vanquished to receive them. If Darius could 'alone be ignorant in which of those relations 'he stood, a battle might speedily decide it. 'When Alexander crossed the sea, he did not 'purpose to himself Cilicia or Lydia: (an in-'adequate object for so weighty a war;) but 'he meditated the subjugation of Persepolis, 'the capital of his adversary's empire, then 'of Bactra and Ecbatana, and of tracts extend-'ing to the farthest shores of the Eastern world. 'Whithersoever Darius might fly, he could 'follow. Nor could rivers obstruct him, to 'whom the sea had not been a barrier.'

21. To this effect was the correspondence of the two sovereigns.

Meanwhile, the Rhodians surrendered their city and harbour to Alexander's forces.

The king committed the government of Cilicia to Socrates; and the country dependent on Tyre, to Philotas. The administration of Syria, Parmenio had resigned to Andromachus *, that he might attend Alexander in the prosecution of the war. The king, having directed Hephæstion to steer along the Phœnician coast with the fleet, moved with his whole army to the city Gaza.

* Eusebius also states Andromachus to have received this appointment; and Curtius again speaks of him as the governor, sect. 33, infra.

About this time, fell one of the quinquennial periods for the Isthmian games, celebrated by a confluence of people from all parts of Greece. The temporizing Greeks decreed, that a deputation of twelve from the assembly should bear to Alexander a golden crown of victory, their grateful offering for the deeds by which he had promoted the safety and liberty of Greece. The same men, a short time previous, had entertained equivocal rumours with avidity, keeping their suspended support ready for that party which fortune should favour.

Not only the king went on, marching against all the cities [in Syria*] which still refused the yoke of his dominion: but his lieutenants, also, who were able commanders, had carried the Macedonian arms into many distant provinces. Calas subdued Paphlagonia; Antigonus, Lycaonia; and Balacrus, having defeated the Persian satrap Idarnes, recovered Miletus†. Amphoterus and Hegelochus, with a fleet of one hundred and sixty vessels, brought the islands between the Grecian coast and Asia under Alexander's

* M. de Sainte-Croix refers to this period the march of Alexander against Jerusalem.

† *Miletum cepit.* CURTIUS.—See *Supplement*, ante, p. 224. Many places which Alexander had subjugated, had been since retaken in the diversion made by Memnon and the Persian governors co-operating with him.

government:—having accepted the submission of Tenedos,—invited by the inhabitants of Chios, they expected to occupy it with the same facility: but Pharnabazus, the admiral of Darius, having seized the principals of the Macedonian faction, restored Apollonides and Athenagoras, who were in the Persian interest, to power in the city, leaving with them a small garrison. The lieutenants of Alexander persevered in their enterprize, relying less on the amount of their forces, than on the disposition of the besieged. Nor did this expectation fail; for a seditious quarrel between Apollonides and the military commanders allowed the besiegers an opportunity to break into the town. When a regiment of Macedonians had forced one of the gates, a party of inhabitants, acting on a plan concerted for the surrender of the place, joined Amphoterus and Hegelochus. The Persian garrison slain,—Pharnabazus, with Apollonides and Athenagoras, are delivered up as prisoners. Here were taken three thousand Greeks in the Persian service, twelve triremes, with their compliments of mariners and rowers; besides thirty ships and piratical brigantines. The Greeks were incorporated, as recruits, into the Macedonian battalions; the rowers were compelled to serve in the fleet; and the corsairs were punished with death.

22. It happened, that Aristonicus, the tyrant of Methymna, unapprised of these transactions, arrived, with some piratical vessels, about the first watch, at the mouth of the harbour, which was secured by a boom. The guard demanded, 'Who he was?' He answered: "Aristonicus brings succours to Pharna-"bazus."—'Pharnabazus is reposing, and can-'not now be spoken with: but, as an ally, or 'a guest wanting shelter, we will admit you 'into the port, and in the morning you can 'have an audience of Pharnabazus.' Aristonicus, without hesitation, immediately entered the haven, followed by the piratical brigantines. As they were standing in towards the quay, the guard closes the port: a division of the centinels keep watch, while a part alarm the garrison: Aristonicus and the piratical crews, taken without resistance, are delivered in chains to Amphoterus and Hegelochus.

Hence the Macedonians sailed to Mitylene, which Chares the Athenian, who had lately debarked there, defended with a garrison of two thousand Persians: but finding himself unable to hold out, he surrendered the city, on condition that he might retire unmolested. He departed for Imbros. The Macedonians gave quarter to the garrison.

CHAP. VI.

Darius prepares to renew hostilities. Alexander besieges Gaza.

23. DARIUS, despairing of peace, which he had expected to negociate by letters and ambassadors, was wholly engaged in creating an army, in order to recommence hostilities with vigor. He summoned to Babylon the chieftains of his provincial levies; and, in particular, commanded Bessus, leader of the Bactrians, to join him with as powerful an army as he could embody. Among those hordes, the Bactrians are the most intrepid; they are a ferocious people, and totally averse from the luxury of the Persians. Their country lies toward the warlike Scythians, who subsist by plunder, roving in armed bands. But the impatient dissatisfaction with which Bessus attended to the offices devolving on the second personage in the empire, rendered his loyalty suspected, and disturbed the tranquillity of the king; for, as he affected the sovereignty, it was apprehended that he would grasp at it by some traitorous act.

Meanwhile, Alexander, exploring various channels of intelligence, endeavoured to trace the retreat of Darius; but was unable to ascertain in what region he was concealed. It is a moral habit of the Persians to keep, with illustrious fidelity, the secrets of the king; neither fear nor hope can extort a word tending to discovery; for the venerable institutes of that monarchy fortify silence by the penalty of death. The Persians punish intemperance of the tongue more severely than any other delinquency: nor can they esteem a man qualified for great employments who feels any difficulty in conforming to enjoined taciturnity, a duty which nature has rendered easy.

Alexander, uninformed of the movements of the enemy, laid siege to Gaza*. Its governor, Betis, an officer of approved fidelity, with an inconsiderable garrison defended a stupendous circuit of fortifications.

24. Alexander, having surveyed the position of the works, directed the excavation of several mines; the subterraneous approaches were favoured by the lightness of the soil, which,

* It is said to have received this name from Cambyses, because, on his way to Egypt, he lodged his treasures in the fortress; for, says Curtius, [ante, p. 336,] the Persians call the regal treasury *Gaza*. If this be true, ancient expositors of the Scripture must have substituted *Gaza*, in Genesis and Judges, in place of the old name.

formed chiefly by accessions of sand from the neighbouring sea, was free from rocks and stones. The mines were commenced from a point which was out of the view of the besieged; and Alexander, to keep the garrison amused, gave orders to advance the towers to the walls. But the ground was ill adapted to these ponderous engines; for the sand, giving way, retarded the movements of the wheels; the platforms in the towers were shattered, and many soldiers were wounded; while the enemy remained unannoyed. To replace the towers in safety, was as difficult as it had been to advance them. The signal is made for a retreat. But Alexander orders, that on the following day a *military circle** shall be drawn round the fortress. At sun-rise, before he put his army in motion, he offered a sacrifice with the solemnities of his country, imploring aid from the gods. A raven, flitting over, dropped from between its talons a clod of earth on the royal worshipper's head, whence it fell on the ground, broken to pieces: the bird alighted on a contiguous turret, slimed with pitch and sulphur. Its wings adhering to the viscous surface, the raven in vain struggled to liberate itself, and

* *Corona.* ORIG. — This close mode of investment intimidates the besieged, imprisons them, and cuts off their supplies. The lines of a *corona* might be two or three ranks in depth, or still denser. The infantry lined the inside of the circle. The horse were planted on the outside, for observation and defence.

was caught by the attendants. That this incident merited the elucidation of the soothsayers, was admitted by Alexander, who had a tincture of superstition. Aristander, the diviner of highest reputation, affirmed, 'That it portended the 'fall of the city, but that the king, involved in 'danger, might receive a wound; he therefore 'dehorted him from entering upon any opera-'tion during the day.' Alexander impatiently endured, that one fortress should restrain him from penetrating into Egypt, unless at imminent risk; yet he was influenced by the hierophant, and made the signal for retreat.

25. This augmented the courage of the besieged, who sallied upon the Macedonians as they withdrew from the attack; deeming that the indecision of the enemy presented a moment of advantage: but their ardour was not steady and persevering, for when they saw the Macedonians face-about, they suddenly halted. And now the acclamations of those engaged reached to the king: Little mindful of the danger of which he had been forewarned; yet induced by the entreaties of his friends to defend himself with armour, which he rarely wore; he repaired to the front division. As soon as he appeared there, an Arab among the common soldiers of Darius dared an enormous enterprize above his condition; covering his sword with his buckler,

he knelt before the king, as though he had come over: the king bade him rise, and directed that he should be enrolled: but the Barbarian nimbly shifting his sword into his right-hand, swung it at the king's neck. Alexander, by a slight bend of the body, avoided the blow, and lopped off the perfidious hand of the Barbarian. The special danger with which the day was commissioned, he considered as now past. But it would appear, that destiny is not to be eluded; for while the king was intrepidly combating among the most advanced, an arrow pierced his armour, and remained planted in his shoulder, till Philip his surgeon extracted it: Blood now flowed in a copious stream: His attendants were alarmed; because they had never witnessed a shaft overcome the obstruction of armour, and bury its head so deeply. Alexander, from whose cheeks the colour did not move, bid them staunch the bleeding, and bind up the wound. Inattentive to the first importunities of pain, he remained in front of the banners a considerable time, till the blood-vessels, which an application had compressed, burst with a new hæmorrhage; and the pain, which had been moderate, increased to acute anguish; and the lacerated part, as the gore congealed, began to swell. Then Alexander, swooning, sunk down upon his knees: Where-

upon his attendants bore him to his tent. And Betis, concluding him to be dead, returned into the town in triumph.

26. Alexander, while his wound was under cure, completed a terrace* as lofty as the fortress, and he conducted mines under its walls. Meanwhile, the besieged carried up an interior rampart equal in height with the old fortifications, but below the level of the turrets which Alexander raised upon the terrace; so that the interior of the city was annoyed by the darts of the enemy. A consummate disaster to the garrison, the walls, which had been silently sapped, now fell down; and the Macedonians poured in at the breaches. The king led the vanguard; and while he was incautiously climbing to the attack, a stone bruised his leg; afterwards supporting himself on his spear, he fought among the combatants who had pressed to the front, though his former wound was not cicatrized. To have received two wounds in the siege, inflamed his desire of revenge.

Betis, having displayed signal gallantry, almost dissected with gashes, was deserted by his men. Blood from his antagonists, streaming

* Arrian states this bulwark to have been carried quite round the city, a stupendous circle,—and to have been two hundred and fifty feet high, and two furlongs broad: which is altogether extravagant.

with his own, had made his weapons slippery to the grasp, yet he still fought resolutely. At length, pressed on all sides, exhausted by resistance disproportionately maintained, he was taken alive, and carried before the king. The young conqueror, with arrogant elation, no longer the Alexander who admired intrepidity in an enemy, said to his nobler captive: "The "kind of death, Betis! which thou hast court-"ed, thou shalt not obtain: prepare to endure "all that torture can devise." Betis, undaunted, replied to the menace merely by a disdainful look. Then Alexander, speaking to his attendants: "Do you mark his stubborn silence? "Does he kneel? Have you heard one word "of submission? But this silence I will sub-"due; if nothing else will burst it, it shall "give way to groans." His anger turns to brutish madness; for already his last successes had vitiated his manners. He had thongs fixed to the ankles of his captive; and the yet breathing hero, lashed to a car, was dragged by horses round the city: the frantic victor vaunting that he punished his enemy in the manner of Achilles *, from whom he had descended.

Of Persians and Arabians there fell nearly ten thousand: nor to the Macedonians was it a

* Achilles was more humane, because Hector was first a corpse.

bloodless conquest. The siege is renowned, not so much from the celebrity of Gaza, as from the critical train of incidents to Alexander.

The king now detached Amyntas, with ten triremes, to Macedon, to levy fresh troops; for even victories had attenuated his army; and to enlist a great proportion of soldiers from the conquered countries would have been unsafe. Alexander now advances with celerity toward Egypt.

CHAP. VII.

Alexander is received in Egypt without opposition. He visits the temple of Jupiter Hammon.

27. LONG-TIME to the Egyptians the ascendancy of the Persians had been odious; the government of the satraps, grinding and imperious. The expected approach of Alexander revived the courage of a people who, from a propensity to revolt, had eagerly received Amyntas*, intruding with precarious authority. A confluence of Egyptians, therefore, repaired to Pelusium, imagining that Alexander

* Ante, p. 350.

would enter by that port. But, on the seventh day after leaving Gaza, he reached a different part of Egypt, since named Alexander's camp. Having ordered the bulk of his army to march thence to Pelusium, he, with a chosen division, is wafted along the Nile. The Persians, in consternation at the insurrection, did not wait his attack. Already he had arrived in the vicinity of Memphis. The satrap Mazaces, abandoning the cause of Darius, hastily crossed a branch of the river, and delivered to Alexander eight hundred talents, with all the royal movables. From Memphis, ascending the river, the king penetrated to the interior of Egypt. Having settled an administrative government so as not to disturb the usages of the country, he proposed to visit the oracle of Jupiter Hammon*.

28. The track thither was barely practicable to a small band lightly equipped. Water, from springs, or from the clouds, is rarely afforded. The solar heat is intolerable; the atmosphere is a glowing vapour; a desolate expanse of sand burns the feet. Besides the excess of summer in an arid region, the traveller has to struggle

* Understood, by some critics, not without the countenance of ancient writers, to be Ham, the son of Noah, and king of Libya, deified after his death; the Egyptian Jupiter, worshipped under the name of Hammon.

with a deep layer of loose sharp dust, which giving way to the tread, and sticking to the flesh, renders stepping painful. The Egyptians magnified these difficulties.

Alexander, however, was stimulated by a powerful desire to present himself before Jupiter, whom, dissatisfied with a mortal origin, he believed to have been his father; or, he designed that others should believe it. He, therefore, with select attendants, descended the river to the lake Mareotis.

Hither ambassadors came to him from the Cyrenians, with gifts, supplicating peace, and entreating his presence in their cities. The king having accepted their friendship, prosecuted his journey. Throughout the first and second day the fatigue was not immoderate, the party not having reached the naked immensity of desert, though the surrounding country was barren and dead: But as the levels covered with deep sand spread themselves out, the eye ached for hospitable land in the boundless view, as in the midst of an ocean. Not a tree, not a vestige of cultivation met the sight. Here the water failed, which had been brought in bottles on camels: and there were no springs in the fervid ground. To make the extremity consummate, the raging heat had parched or consumed every thing, when, suddenly—by a natural casualty, or by

the providence of the gods—clouds, spreading over the sky, curtained the sun: a considerable relief to men sinking under its power, though they still wanted water. Soon a tempest discharged a flood of rain, when every one caught a supply: some individuals, with impatient thirst, received it in their mouths as it fell. Four days had already fretted away in the desert.

29. Here, the column, not greatly distant from the seat of the oracle, was met by a flock of ravens*. These birds, afterwards, flew gently before the van; now alighting, as the column paused; now on wing, preceding it in the manner of a guide. At length the party arrives at the recess consecrated to the god. We hesitate to believe, that in the midst of an immense desert there should be a spot protected on all sides by branching trees and entwining thickets, an asylum of shade which the sun never violates; while fountains, whose waters are grateful to the taste, bubbling from multiplied sources,

* On the morning of the 25th of May, 1819, we continued westward, and passed several isolated rocks and sand-banks. At noon we saw a high hill at a distance, and soon after the guide pointed out the Rocks of Elloah: in a few minutes after this we saw two CROWS, which *appeared* to have come to meet us—a sure sign that water is not far off; for though these birds can travel a long way on slender resources, they generally keep near the water in those deserts. *Narrative of Operations and Recent Discoveries in Egypt and Nubia.* By G. Belzoni. Section entitled, "JOURNEY TO THE OASIS OF AMMON," pp. 401, 402.

maintain the luxuriancy of the groves: Nor less miraculous is the temperature of the air, at all times of the year alike salubrious, constantly mild as the breath of spring.

Bordering on [the desert which surrounds] this seat, — eastward is the country of the Hither Ethiopians. On the south, opposite Arabia, TROGLODYTES occupy a region stretching to the Red Sea. Westward, are seated the Simoes, a colony of Ethiopians. Northward, are found the Nasamones, a SYRTIC TRIBE, who batten on wrecks, lurking about the coast on shallows with which they are acquainted, ready to board ships which are stranded*.

The Hammonians live in cottages interspersed through their verdant recess; the middle of the wood is the site of a citadel surrounded by a triple wall.

30. The first rampart encloses the ancient

* This paragraph demands a commentary; as the positions involve some relative errors if examined by the true bearings of the compass. 1st. The nations enumerated are distant from the OASIS: whereas the word "*accolæ*" implies immediate vicinity—but by construing "*sedes*" literally, (put, by Synecdoche, for "the Libyan deserts,") the apparent magnitude of the error has hitherto been strangely aggravated. 2dly. Unless Curtius means, by "Nasamones," a colony of the Nasamones, he has placed on the north the same horde which the map of Ptolemy places on the west; and the SYRTES, (as the QUICKSANDS infesting two bays on the coast of Africa Proper, were by eminence called; and from which the appellation, Syrtic tribe, was derived,) were distant from Hammon the whole breadth of Marmarica and Cyrenaica.

palace of their kings; within the second are lodged the prince's wives, children, and concubines,—here, likewise, is the oracle of the god; in the outward circle of bastions were posted the royal armed attendants and body-guards.

In the bosom of a second grove of Hammon, is the "fountain of the sun." At sun-rise, its waters are tepid; at mid-day, cold;—but the stream, beginning to grow warm at sun-set, by midnight is steaming hot: thence, as morning approaches, its temperature declines from the nightly maximum, at day-break constantly found in a tepid state*.

* This curious fountain is particularly described by Quintus Curtius, [citing the above passage,] Pliny, ii. 103; and Pomponius Mela, i. 8. It is also referred to by Silius Italicus, iii. 669; by Ovid, *Met.* xv. 309; and by the more philosophical Lucretius, vi. 848. The *heat* of this well was, unquestionably, caused by subterranean inflammable substances in a state of ignition: its alternation of *cold* in the day-time may have been produced, and especially in the summer season, by evaporation from the groves that surrounded it. The fountain, like the pool of Bethesda, John, v. 2—4, might be a hot spring, with a tide recurring once in twenty-four hours. It is an extraordinary fact, that the ice in the celebrated cavern of *Grace Dieu*, at Paris, is plentiful and solid during the summer, and almost wasted in the course of winter. *Translation of Lucretius, by John Mason Good.* 4to. *London*, 1805, vol. ii. pp. 548, 549. "Near the town [Cohaut] runs a stream as clear as crystal, which issues from three fountains, and is collected in a reservoir not far below. It is hot in winter, and cold in summer."—*Elphinstone's Caubul, London*, 4to. 1816. p. 40.

For an account of the *oases* attributed to the territory of Hammon,

The image here adored for the god, has not the same form, which artists commonly assign to deities: it resembled a NAVEL more than any thing else, composed of an emerald and other gems*. When it was consulted, the priests bore it about in a golden ship, from the sides of which hung silver goblets; matrons and virgins followed, singing, in their national manner, an inharmonious hymn: by which they hoped to influence Jupiter to deliver an unambiguous oracle.

31. As the king was approaching, the senior priest saluted him "son," affirming, 'That his 'father, Jupiter, bestowed that title†.' Alexander replied, 'That he accepted it, and per-'ceived a token of its validity:' forgetting that he was a mortal man. He then inquired, 'Whether his father destined him to the em-'pire of the globe?' The hierophant, with concerted adulation, declared, 'That he should 'govern the whole earth.' Afterwards, the

as they appear in their modern state; and for a description of a fountain in one of them examined by Belzoni;—*See* ADDITIONAL NOTES (M.)

* UMBILICO would also bear the interpretation of a jewelled CONCH, which might be a conical shell. The image so obscurely designated may possibly have been the *lingam*.

† It is mentioned by Plutarch, that some have maintained, that the priest meant to say, ὦ παῖδιον, *my son*; but, from his imperfect acquaintance with the Greek tongue, said παῖ Διός, *son of Jupiter*: but this is refining to excess; for while Curtius makes the priest say no

king proceeded to inquire, 'Whether all* who 'conspired the death of his father had been 'punished?' The response was, 'That the 'crime of no one could hurt the memory of 'his father: but that all the murderers of 'Philip had suffered punishment.' It was added, 'That he should continue invincible 'till he joined the assembly of the gods.' Alexander then, having sacrificed, presented gifts to the priests, and to Hammon. Afterwards his friends, permitted to consult the oracle, merely sought to know, 'Whether it 'sanctioned their yielding to their king divine 'honours?' The priest answered, 'That it was 'agreeable to Jupiter, that they should render 'to their victorious king the honours of di-'vinity.'

Any person who had sagaciously weighed the credit due to the oracle, must indeed have perceived the inanity and delusion of its echoes. But when fortune has induced men to confide entirely in herself, she commonly makes them more avaricious of glory, than able to sustain it. Alexander, therefore, not only suffered himself to be called Jupiter's son, but required it;

more than *son*, what is added, shows him to have spoken as the representative of Jupiter;—and Justin asserts, that the priests of Hammon acted a deliberate part, to which they had been suborned.

* Alexander Lyncestes had been spared, ante, p. 119; now in custody for a conspiracy against himself, ante, p. 256.

thus designing to heighten, but impairing, the lustre of his exploits. And the Macedonians, accustomed to monarchical government, yet retaining a greater semblance of liberty than other nations, when the king affected immortality, more pertinaciously revolted against his extravagance than was expedient for either party. But those things I reserve, to follow the order of time.

CHAP. VIII.

The king founds Alexandria. Appoints administrations for Egypt, Lybia, and other provinces. Catastrophes of Hector and Andromachus. Minor details. Alexander marches from Syria toward the Euphrates.

32. RETURNING from Hammon, Alexander had now come to the lake Mareotis, not greatly distant from the island Pharos. Having surveyed the situation, the king at first designed to build a city on the island——. Afterwards regarding the island as too small for a metropolis, he selected that place on which Alexandria, named after its founder, at present stands. Embracing the whole extent of ground between the lake and the sea, he assigned eighty stadia for the circuit of the walls. Having appointed officers to superintend their construction, he proceeded to Memphis.

Olymp. cxii. 1. *A. C.* 332. *Ætat. Alex.* 25. *Reg.* 5.

Alexander felt a strong inclination, laudable had it been well-timed, to visit the interior of Egypt, and even Ethiopia. The celebrated palace of Memnon and Tithonus was about to draw him, eager to explore antiquity, almost as far as the tropic of Cancer. But the impending

war, of which the weightier business was unperformed, denied time for excursions comparatively idle.

He constituted Æschylus the Rhodian, and Peucestes the Macedonian, subgovernors* of Egypt, leaving with them four thousand men to garrison the country: he commissioned Polemon, with thirty gallies, to defend the mouths of the Nile. Apollonius was the king's lieutenant over Lybia, Cyrenaica, and Marmarica. Cleomenes was appointed to receive the revenues of those countries, and of Egypt.

The king's edicts transplanting to Alexandria families from places contiguous, a great population was collected in the new capital. It is affirmed, that when Alexander was marking out the walls of the future town with boiled-barley paste, according to the Macedonian custom †,—birds in flocks came and devoured it: After many persons had regarded this as an unfavourable presage, the soothsayers announced it to indicate, 'That the new mart would be the constant resort of strangers, and would supply several countries with provisions.'

* Arrian informs us, that the administration of Egypt was committed to Doloaspus, an Egyptian, as chief governor.

† So Curtius alone. Arrian, Plutarch, Strabo, Valerius Maximus, and Marcellinus, state that the use of the barley-paste was accidental, and occasioned by the deficiency of lime or chalk.

33. Alexander, afterwards descending the [Eastern branch of the] Nile,—Hector, Parmenio's son, in the flower of life, from eagerness to follow the king, in whose favour he ranked high, embarked in a skiff into which more people had crowded than it could carry. Presently the vessel swamped. Hector long struggled in the current: his clothes penetrated with wet, and his sandals closely bound to his feet, impeded his swimming: he gained the bank, with remaining life: respiration, which had been repressed during the conflict with the suffocating flood, laboured with sudden liberty: the other persons in the boat had escaped to the opposite shore, and, for want of restoring attentions, the unfortunate youth expired. The king, much afflicted, bestowed on the corpse a sumptuous funeral.

His grief is aggravated by the catastrophe of Andromachus, lieutenant of Syria, whom the Samaritans had burnt alive. To avenge his murder, Alexander marched with all practicable expedition. On his arrival, they delivered up to him the instigators of the atrocious deed, whom he punished with death. He nominated Memnon the successor of Andromachus.

Of several Grecian cities he gave up the [Persian] regents to the popular assemblies. Among those, Aristonicus and Chrysolaus, aban-

doned to the Methymneans,—the people, for their unjust acts, hurled* from the walls. Thus were they killed.

Then he gave audience to ambassadors from the Athenians, the Rhodians, and the Chians. The Athenians congratulated the victor; entreating him to liberate the GRECIAN captives: The Rhodians, aggrieved by his garrisons, demanded redress:—All these suits seeming reasonable, were granted.

To the Mitylenians, in consideration of their tried fidelity, he restored their hostages; and remunerated their aid in money, by annexing to their jurisdiction a considerable territory. The kings of Cyprus, who had revolted from Darius, to co-operate, with a fleet, at the siege of Tyre, he rewarded with honours proportioned to their services. He then sent Amphoterus, his admiral, to deliver Crete from the Persian and the Spartan arms; (both had invaded Crete;) and he especially charged him to reclaim the sea from pirates, with which it had been covered while the two kings had been engaged in land operations. After these arrangements, he dedicated to the Tyrian Hercules a bowl and thirty goblets of gold.

* HURLED *from the walls.* Commentators have proposed various conjectural emendations of the original, in which the translator cannot see a difficulty. *Tortos*, here, is not TORTURED, but HURLED.

Now, prepared to fall on Darius, he led his army towards the Euphrates.

CHAP. IX.

The new army of Darius retrogades, to encamp on the Bumadus. Alexander passes the Euphrates and the Tigris. Skirmish with Satropates.

34. DARIUS having ascertained that Alexander had turned aside into Africa, deliberated whether he should remain on the borders of Mesopotamia, or retire farther into his dominions. He was persuaded that the remote provinces would be excited, by his presence, to engage in the war with vivacity; which under the satraps were slow in arming.—But fame had circulated, by convenient agents, that Alexander would strike with all his forces into whatever region he might remove: not ignorant of the invader's invincible perseverance, the Persian king, therefore, directed levies from countries far distant to assemble at Babylon. The Bactrians, Scythians, and Indians, repaired thither; and, with these, the other nations mustered their proportion of troops. His army, more numerous, by nearly half its amount, than it had been in Cilicia,—many of the men were without weapons: which the highest exertion was used to supply. The horses, as well as the

men, of the cavalry, were provided with breast-plates and greaves of iron. The soldiers who, before, had javelins — received, in addition, swords and shields. That his cavalry might be stronger than the former; horses in droves were dispersed among his foot to be broken in. Of chariots, armed with sithes, there were two hundred; the grand dependence of the Barbarians, as they imagine such machines panic-strike an enemy. Each was drawn by four horses abreast: The two poles [one between each pair of horses] were armed in the front with projecting iron spears: The transverse beam*, to which the horses were yoked, carried at either end three swords: To the spokes of the wheels shorter blades were laterally appended; and to the fellies were fastened sithes; other sithes pointed [from the axletrees] toward the ground: to mow in pieces every thing in the way of the precipitated car.

35. His army, thus constituted and equipped, — Darius marched from Babylon. On his right flowed the noble Tigris; and the Euphrates covered his left. His forces filled the plains of Mesopotamia. Then having passed the Tigris, — learning that the enemy was not far distant, he sent forward Satropates, general of cavalry, with a thousand chosen horse. And

* In position, the SPLINTER-BAR of modern carriages; but massy.

Mazæus, with six thousand cavalry, was detached, — to defend the passage of the Euphrates; and to waste and burn the country which the invader was approaching. Darius deemed, that Alexander's forces, bringing no provisions, but depending on pillage, might be overcome by famine: while to his own troops supplies would be conveyed by land and by the Tigris.

Now, the Persian king had reached the village Arbela*, which was soon to be made renowned by his defeat†. Leaving here the greater part of his provisions and baggage, he laid a bridge across the Lycus, over which the passage of his army consumed five days. Then he advanced about eighty stadia, and encamped near the bank of the Bumadus. This position was convenient for his infantry and cavalry to parade and manœuvre; an immense field, with-

* *The village Arbela.* Arrian makes it a city. Strabo speaks of it as a memorable residence, founded, according to tradition, by Arbelus the son of Athmoneus. It was probably unwalled, and, on that account, termed by Curtius a village. The Hague, one of the most considerable towns in Holland, defended, indeed, by fosses and drawbridges, but destitute of walls, is called a village by geographers.

† *Renowned by his defeat.* Darius lost the battle near the stage-town Gaugamela, in Aturia, a district divided from Arbela by the Lycus. The "inn for camels" was so named by Darius the son of Hystaspes, who assigned this domain, for the supply of camel-forage, to carriers of provisions for the royal table. The Macedonians, seeing Gaugamela to be an obscure place, circulated the account, in their reports and histories, that the victory was gained near Arbela.— Strabo, lib. xvi.

out roots of trees or stumpy bushes: and the eye had a free prospect to objects very remote. Where the ground swelled, Darius ordered it to be levelled; extending the elevated plain*.

36. Macedonian scouts having calculated the enemy's force, on a distant survey,—their report scarcely induced Alexander to believe, that after the slaughter of so many thousands, the recruited army of Darius had risen above its former strength. Contemning danger, particularly danger from superior numbers, the hero in eleven days reached the Euphrates. Having laid a bridge, he ordered his cavalry over, followed by the phalanx: Mazæus, who had been sent with six thousand horse to oppose his passage, not daring to risk a conflict.

Alexander gave a few days to his soldiers, not of rest, but [of easy marching] to recruit their spirits. Then he resumed a vigorous pursuit; apprehensive of Darius retiring to a remote part of his empire,—whither, he should have to follow through natural deserts, or regions laid waste. On the fourth day he gains the bank of the Tigris, higher up than Arbela†. All the country beyond the river, recently fired, was yet smoking: for wherever Mazæus went, he spread conflagration as though he had been

* See *Preface to the Second Edition*, TESTIMONIES TO THE ACCURACY OF CURTIUS BY RECENT TRAVELLERS, No. 2.

† *See* ADDITIONAL NOTES (N).

the invader. As the undispersed smoke created artificial darkness, Alexander suspected an ambuscade. The scouts announcing all to be safe, he sent forward some horsemen to try the ford. At the first plunge, the water reached the chests of the horses; and, at the middle of the stream, it flowed as high as their necks.

The east has not another river equally rapid: many torrents fall into it, sweeping stones along its bed. The name Tigris was given from its swiftness; an arrow in Persic is called *tigris*.

37. The infantry, in two divisions, flanked by the horse, waded without much difficulty as far as the mid-channel. Passing among the foot, the king was the first to gain the opposite bank; whence, with his hand, because his voice could not be heard, he directed his soldiers to the proper ford. But they could scarcely keep their feet, now betrayed by slippery stones, and now supplanted by the rushing stream. The chief difficulty was theirs who carried loads: hindered from governing themselves, they were borne away into the rapid whirlpools: As every one endeavoured to reclaim his wreck, they struggled more with each other than with the torrent: packs of baggage, floating on the water, beat many of them down. The king exhorted them, 'To take care of their arms; 'he would make good their other losses.' Consternation prevented some from following

the king's orders and advice: his words were drowned by the mutual clamour of others. At length, alighting on a ford where the current was less rapid, they gained the shore; having lost nothing but a small quantity of baggage.

38. The army might have been destroyed, had a Persian dared to conquer: but Alexander's uniform fortune kept the enemy aloof. Thus he passed the Granicus—where so many thousand horse and foot guarded the opposite bank: thus, in the defiles of Cilicia, he vanquished an immense host.

His extravagant daring is absolved from censure, when we consider, that the result of an enterprize never permitted the question, "Has he not acted absurdly?"

Mazæus, had he fallen on the Macedonians during their confused passage, might doubtless have defeated them; they were on the bank, and under arms, when some of his squadrons appeared. He had sent forward but a thousand cavalry. Alexander, despising this scanty force, ordered Ariston, commander of the Pæonian horse, to charge at full speed. The Pæonians behaved gallantly; Ariston, distinguishing himself, launched his spear into the throat of Satropates, the Persian general; and pursuing him into the midst of the adverse squadrons, unhorsed him. The fugitive now resisting,

Ariston, by a sabre-cut, took off his head. Laying this at the feet of the king, he obtained high plaudits.

CHAP. X.

Lunar eclipse. Mazæus prevented from burning the country, stored with supplies. Intercepted letters of Darius. Death of the queen.

39. ENCAMPED here two days, the king gave the army marching orders against the morrow. But, about the first watch, the moon became eclipsed, despoiled of her reflected lustre*. Afterwards a bloody hue, suffusing her face, at length TARNISHED HER WHOLE LIGHT. The soldiers, previously filled with anxiety, on account of the approaching conflict, are struck with religious awe, which is followed by boding terrors. They complained, 'That they were 'led towards the bounds of the earth in defi-'ance of the gods: rivers refused them a pas-'sage, and stars withdrew their light. Before 'them lay immense, unpeopled regions. The 'blood of so many thousands was about to be 'shed to gratify the restless pride of one man,

* The eclipse happened on the twentieth of September, Olymp. cxii. 2. eleven days before the battle.—*See* ADDITIONAL NOTES (O).

'disgusted with his native land, disavowing 'his father, and madly affecting affinity with 'heaven.' Their murmurs bordered on open sedition. Alexander, undisturbed, required the Egyptian sages, whom he esteemed as superior astronomers, to disclose their sentiments respecting the phenomenon, in the presence of his generals, and minor officers, whom he had summoned to head quarters. These philosophers well knew, that the celestial bodies perform their revolutions in appointed periods of time, and that the moon suffers an eclipse whenever it passes under the shadow of the earth, or is otherwise shut out from the sun: nevertheless, they withheld from the multitude the true cause of the appearance; affirming, 'That the 'sun was the planet of Greece; as the moon '. was of Persia,—and that a lunar eclipse por- 'tended the slaughter and overthrow of the 'Barbarians.' In confirmation, they recited ancient accounts of Persian kings, who had been warned by occultations of the moon, 'That to fight were to rebel against the gods.' Nothing has more influence over the many than superstition. The populace—otherwise turbulent, cruel, and fickle—when carried away by a solemn imposture, yield that obedience to soothsayers which they refuse to their rulers. Thus the answer of the Egyptians, circulated among the soldiers, revived their drooping

hopes, and inspired them with new confidence.

40. Alexander, availing himself of their ardour, decamped at the second watch: marching with the Tigris on his right, the Gordæan mountains on his left*. Proceeding in this direction, he was informed by his scouts that Darius was approaching. He therefore, having formed the order of battle, led in person the van. But it was a flying body of about a thousand Persians, left behind to maraude, that had been mistaken for an army. Thus, when circumstances cannot be accurately measured, fear magnifies the danger. The king, discovering the fact, wth a small band chased the enemy, who flew precipitately; he killed several, and took some prisoners. Parties of cavalry he then detached to gain intelligence, and to rescue from conflagration the villages fired by the

* Ptolemy agrees with Curtius in the local name. Strabo, with a slight literal difference, calls *this section of the range of Mount Zagros* the GORDYÆAN mountains. As it was then the principal seat of the *Gordæans*, so it is now of the *Curds*, which are considered to be the same race of people. But the modern *Curdistan*, not confined to a line of ridges, corresponds nearly with ancient *Adiabene;* because, in the unsettled state of the frontiers of the Turkish and Persian empires, some descendants of the original mountaineers have overrun the neighbouring plains. Tribes of Curds also now occupy elevated tracks westward from Adiabene, marked in the map *Niphates Gordæan*, and *Masius M.* And this countenances the greater extension of the term which is required to reconcile a passage in Curtius, V, chap. i. sect. 2, with the geography of the country.

Barbarians; who, in their retreat, had thrown burning torches on the roofs of the houses, and on the corn-stacks: before the flames could spread downwards, they were extinguished. Here were found a great quantity of grain, and an abundance of other useful stores*. This stimulated the soldiers to press close upon the enemy, whom they "must check in the work "of destruction, or every thing will be con-"sumed."—Impending distress converted them to reason. Mazæus, who before devastated at leisure, now satisfied to escape, abandoned to the invaders substantial resources, for the major part untouched.

Alexander now discovered that Darius was distant but one hundred and fifty stadia. Therefore, that he might store up, to redundance, every kind of provisions, he remained four days in the same station.

41. Letters, at this time, were intercepted from Darius to the Greeks in the Macedonian

* Concurring indications of a fertile country. Alexander has just passed into the upper part of *Assyria Proper*, or *Adiabene*.—"Surrounded, on the North and East, by lofty mountains, from which "flow several great rivers, and a vast number of lesser streams, this "tract of country, and particularly that part of it North of the Little "Zab, has been in every age a rich and productive province; and it "still continues to supply Bagdad, Mosul, and the other cities, with "corn, cattle, cheese, butter, and dried fruits, and almost every other "kind of provision."—KINNEIR'S *Geogr. Memoir on Persia*, p. 295.

army, urging them, 'Either to kill, or to betray 'the king.' Alexander had it in meditation to read these letters to the assembled army, as he felt entire reliance on the affection and fidelity of the Greeks. But Parmenio dissuaded him: 'It is inexpedient to infuse such temptations 'into the minds of soldiers; the king would 'thus be committed to the treason of any indi-'vidual; and avarice does not scruple at a 'crime.' The counsel was adopted.

Now Alexander broke up his encampment. In the course of the march, one of the eunuchs who attended the consort of Darius, reported, that, seized with illness, she scarcely respired. Worn down with sorrow, and the fatigue of incessant travelling, the queen had swooned in the arms of her mother-in-law and her two daughters. Presently a second messenger announced that she was dead. Not less afflicted than if the melancholy information had related to his mother, the king passionately sobbed: a torrent of tears escaped him, as though he had been Darius. He immediately repaired to the tent, in which the mother of Darius was sitting by the corpse. When the king beheld the deceased queen stretched on the ground, the violence of his grief returned. The mother of Darius, reminded by the present calamity of past misfortunes, strained to her bosom the two

royal virgins; in mutual distress, they were *her* powerful supporters, to whom she owed consolation. At her side stood the infant prince*, the most affecting object for commiseration, inasmuch as he was yet insensible of calamities in which he had the deepest share. A witness of Alexander's sorrow might have supposed him to be a mourner among his own relatives, and that, instead of administering, he needed comfort. During an interval he fasted. He appointed a splendid funeral in the Persian manner. How worthy does he seem, by courtesy and continence, of the reward which he afterwards obtained! Darius' consort he saw but once, at the commencement of her captivity; and then it was rather Darius' mother, than her, that he visited. Her matchless beauty he regarded, not as an incentive to violation, but as inviting him to display the true lustre of a conqueror.

42. In the alarm created by the mournful occurrence, a domestic eunuch of the queen, named Tyriotes, escaped through a gate, guarded with the less vigilance, because it was in the rear of the camp. Arrived at the Persian quar-

* Ochus, the son of Darius, now almost eight years old. With the princesses and queens, he had been a captive almost two years.

ters, and arrested by the centinels, he was conducted to the royal marquee, uttering lamentations and rending his garments. Darius, when he beheld him, agitated with complicated presentiments of occasions for grief, doubtful what weightiest ill to fear, thus spoke: "Thy coun- "tenance is charged with some overwhelming "disaster: conceal nothing from a disciple of "adversity; for I have learned to be unhappy; "to know the full measure of calamity, is a "consolation. Speak, then! Hast thou to an- "nounce (what I most suspect and dread to "name) the violation of my wife and daugh- "ters; to me, and I believe to them, more "shocking than the last torture?" Tyriotes replied: "The gods forbid it! No, Sir, all the "sacred respect which subjects can pay to "queens, is preserved to yours by the conquer- "or: but your royal consort a few hours since "resigned her life." While, at this, the tent resounded with lamentations, which spread through the camp,—Darius, concluding that she had been killed for refusing to yield up her honour, frantic with agony, exclaimed: "What "is my crime, Alexander? Which of your re- "latives have I destroyed, that you should thus "requite me with barbarity? You have been "my unprovoked enemy: but admitting your

" war to be just, ought it to fall on women?" Hereupon Tyriotes swore, by the gods of Persia, ' That no severity had been offered her: ' nay, Alexander deeply lamented her death, ' showing as much emotion as his sovereign, ' her royal husband, could have shown.' These words increased the perturbation of Darius, who misconstrued the motive of Alexander's attention to his captive queen, suspecting a criminal intimacy. Having, therefore, dismissed every one from his presence, except Tyriotes, able to repress his tears, but not his sighs, he uttered these words: " Look to thyself, Tyriotes! You " must not delude me with lies: the torture is " at hand to wring the truth from thee. I con- " jure thee, by the gods, relieve me from sus- " pense! If thou still veneratest thy king, tell " what I am impatient to know, and ashamed " to inquire. Did the youthful conqueror " dare"——? Tyriotes, offering his body to the rack, called the gods to witness, ' That the ' uniform virtue of the queen had been inviol- ' ably respected.' At length, Darius, believing what the eunuch affirmed, veiled his head, and wept. After an interval, while tears were yet gushing, he uncovered his face, and lifting up his hands toward heaven, cries: " Ye gods of " my country! my first petition is, that you

" will confirm to myself the kingdom: but if " my dethronement be decreed, then I pray " that no other may be king of Asia, than this " just enemy, this humane conqueror."

CHAP. XI.

Darius, by a third embassy, sues for peace. The advice of Parmenio. Alexander's reply.

43. ALTHOUGH Darius, having failed in two applications * for peace, had latterly, in all his measures, contemplated only war,—yet, overcome by the virtue of his enemy, he deputed ten of his principal relatives to convey fresh overtures. Alexander, in council, admitted them to audience. The senior ambassador spoke: " Darius, now, this third time, solicits " peace from Alexander. To this he is not " compelled by necessity, but drawn by admi- " ration of your clemency and continence. " Under so generous a conqueror, my master " regarded his mother, wife, and children, as " captives, no farther than as he felt the

* Ante, p. 343 and 378.

" want of their society. You shield, with pa-
" ternal attentions, the virtues of his surviving
" relatives: you honour them as queens, leav-
" ing undiminished the splendour which be-
" longed to their former fortunes. I read in
" your face as much concern as the features of
" Darius expressed when we left his presence:
" yet he mourns for a wife—you for an enemy.
" Were you not detained by funeral charities
" to her remains, now you would lead the
" marshalled battle. Is it surprising, if Da-
" rius, overcome by such benignity, desires
" peace? What occasion is there for arms,
" when enmity has subsided. Up to the river
" Halys, on the frontier of Lydia, he heretofore
" offered you empire. Now he tenders you all
" the provinces between the Hellespont and the
" Euphrates, as a dowry with his daughter in
" marriage. His son Ochus he offers to leave
" in your hands as a hostage for his faithful
" adherence to peace. Should you be willing to
" restore to him, with his mother, both his vir-
" gin daughters, he entreats you to accept three
" thousand talents of gold*. Well assured of
" your moderation, I venture to suggest, that it
" were your interest, at this conjuncture, not
" only to entertain, but to anticipate an appli-

* The Latin copies have here *thirty thousand* talents of gold: but in the subsequent speech of Parmenio, recapitulating the offers of Darius, they have *three thousand*.

" cation for peace. Look backward over the vast " countries in your rear, and contemplate the " expanse which remains unconquered. An " enormous empire is necessarily insecure; the " hand with difficulty holds an object too big " to grasp; ships of unwieldy bulk refuse to be " managed. I am ready to attribute the multi- " plied losses of Darius to the number of un- " defended points, which, in possessions too " extended, invite attack. Some things are " easier to acquire than to retain. We snatch " by one movement, what we struggle in vain " to keep. Even the death of my master's " consort abridges the field which you had for " the exercise of magnanimous generosity."

44. Alexander now desired the legation to withdraw: And he required his council to pronounce what might be expedient. All the members remained silent a considerable time, no one daring to deliver his opinion, lest it should not coincide with the king's. At length, Parmenio spoke to this effect: " Sir! I, heretofore*, " moved you to accept a ransom for the cap- " tives taken at Damascus, by which a consi- " derable supply of money would have been " obtained; whereas, merely to guard the pri- " soners, employs a number of brave men.

* Arrian relates that Parmenio gave this advice, when the second letter of Darius reached Alexander at Tyre.

" And I now think that it would be judicious " to exchange an old woman and two young " girls, (incumbrances retarding the army,) " for three thousand talents of gold. Further, " a noble empire is attainable by a compact " which will terminate the risk and fatigue of " war: no monarch before you has possessed " the range of country, extending from the " Ister to the remote Euphrates. In truth, " Sir, it were desirable that your views should " revert home to Macedon, rather than excurse " to Bactriana and India." This speech was heard with displeasure by the king; who, as soon as it was concluded, said: " Thus " should I prefer money to glory, were I Par- " menio: but Alexander cannot do a merce- " nary act. Be assured, I will not sell my fu- " ture fortunes. If it be expedient to restore " the captives, let us liberate them without " ransom."

45. The ambassadors readmitted, the king pronounced his answer; " You will inform " Darius, that such of my acts as he ascribes " to clemency and liberality, were not intended " to court his friendship, but were tributes to " humanity. With captives and with women I " am not at war. But let my deadly foe remain " armed; so it behoves him. Were he at length " sincere in suing for peace, perhaps I might

" deliberate whether to grant it: but since he " has attempted, by largesses, to suborne my " friends to become my murderers, and my sol- " diers to revolt, it is my part—not to meet " him as I would a just enemy, but to hunt him " down as an assassin who lives by the bowl and " dagger. Should I accept the conditions of " peace which you bring, it were to acknow- " ledge him conqueror. All that lies behind " the Euphrates he liberally offers me. Where " do you meet me to receive this audience? I " have passed the Euphrates. My camp stands " beyond the limits which Darius offers me " as a portion with his daughter. Drive me " hence, that I may be sensible that you cede " what is your own. With equal generosity, " your master proposes to give me his daugh- " ter, whom he would else marry to one of his " slaves. It is flattering to be preferred to " Mazæus, as a son-in-law. Depart, therefore, " and repeat to your monarch, that all the do- " minions that he has lost, and all that he re- " tains, are rewards which await success in bat- " tle. This must determine the boundaries of " both empires: each of us must be content " with what the fortune of to morrow shall as- " sign."

The ambassadors replied, ' That as war ' dwelt immovably in his mind, he acted can-

'didly in not deluding them with expectations 'of peace. They, therefore, desired permission 'to return to their sovereign, since it was ne- 'cessary that he should likewise prepare for 'battle.' Having been dismissed, they reported to Darius, 'That he was on the eve of an 'engagement.'

CHAP. XII.

Order of battle and amount of the Persian army. Panic of the Macedonians. Alexander encamps on the hill evacuated by Mazæus.

46. THE king of Persia immediately detached Mazæus with three thousand cavalry, to secure the passes.

Alexander, having attended to their close the obsequies of the queen, left in his camp the heavy baggage under the protection of a small guard, and advanced against the enemy. He conducted his foot in two divisions, his cavalry covering the wings: the waggon train moved in the rear.

Alexander directed Menidas to go forward, with some squadrons on the gallop, and examine the position of Darius. This partizan, having approached the post which Mazæus oc-

cupied, not daring to advance further, returned, and declared, that he could ascertain nothing, having merely heard the clamour of voices, and the neighing of horses.

Mazæus, on his part, perceiving the Macedonian scouts at a distance, repaired to the Persian camp, to announce the approach of the enemy. Darius, desirous to decide the conflict in the open plains, summoned his forces to arms, and marshalled them in order of battle. In the left wing moved a thousand Bactrian horse; as many Dahæ; four thousand Arachosians and Susians,—attached to this division, fifty chariots armed with sithes: Bessus, next to the chariots, with eight thousand Bactrian horse, and two thousand Massagetæ: After this column, the infantry of several nations, not intermixed, but in distinct corps*: Following these, Ariobarzanes and Orobates led the native Persians, with the Mardians and Sogdians; these two generals had their respective posts,—while Orsines commanded in chief: he was descended from one of the seven Persian princes†; and he traced his pedigree to Cyrus, the founder of the empire: In succession, marched other nations,

The Persians keep the different nations, in their armies, in separate bodies.—SPELMAN's *Cyrus*, vol. i. p. 89.

† See ante, p. 163. Orsines might claim Cyrus as an ancestor, by the maternal line.

imperfectly known to the people with whom they acted. Phradates led a powerful levy of Caspians, supported by fifty war chariots: Then came the Indian contingent; and bands from several tribes seated on the coast of the Red Sea, mere names, rather than auxiliaries: After this train moved another savage horde, who brought fifty chariots: Then the troops contributed by the Less Armenia: The line was continued by the Babylonians, the Arbelitæ*, and soldiers from the Cossæan mountains: Next, the Gortuans; originally settlers from Eubœa, who having formerly emigrated with a returning army of Medes, had degenerated, retaining neither in language nor manners any vestiges of Grecian extraction: There followed the Phrygians and Cataonians. The rear was closed by the Parthians, then inhabiting the tract which [other] Parthians, come [later] from Scythia, now occupy. Such was the order of the left wing†.

47. The right was formed of levies from the

* The MSS. and editt. have *Belitæ*, of which the best explanation offered by the commentators is: "Probably a select corps deriving their name from Belus." But as all the other names of corps enumerated are *provincial*, this will scarcely be deemed satisfactory: the translator ventures to substitute *Arbelitæ*, that is, "inhabitants of the district of Arbela."

† The Greek mercenaries, of whom Curtius makes here no mention, Arrian, on the authority of Aristobulus, places in the centre, flanking the household troops. The remnant of the Greeks must have been inconsiderable. See ante, p. 325 n. and Book V. Sect. 31.

Greater Armenia; of the Cadusians; the Cappadocians; the Syrians; the Medes. To these likewise were attached fifty armed chariots. The amount of the whole army was one hundred and forty-five thousand horse, and three hundred thousand foot*. In this array, the Persian forces advanced ten stadia: then halting, they await the enemy under arms.

* With regard to the numbers, the copies of Curtius are supposed to have been corrupted. The MSS. and editions, generally, have 45,000 horse and 200,000 foot; the Geneva edition has 145,000 horse and 600,000 foot. As it is impossible to ascertain what Curtius wrote, the translator has ventured to put down an intermediate sum, at which he arrives by comparing Curtius with himself. Section 34, supra, states that Darius took means to make his cavalry greatly exceed the numbers at Issus. The numbers at Issus were 61,200. The translator, therefore, adopts the account of the Geneva edition, with respect to the cavalry. In estimating the sum of the infantry, he has kept in view a second aid to calculation in sect. 34; "the army was more numerous by nearly half its amount than it had "been in Cilicia." He is therefore induced to offer 300,000 as the probable number of the infantry, making the aggregate 445,000; the former army was 311,200. Whoever is dissatisfied with Curtius thus conjecturally rendered uniform with himself, will look in vain to other ancient authors for satisfaction. Plutarch, without distinguishing the horse and foot, makes their total 1,000,000. Arrian musters only 40,000 cavalry, while he raises the infantry to 1,000,000. Justin has 100,000 of the former, and 600,000 of the latter. Diodorus, 200,000 horse; 800,000 foot. Orosius, 100,000 and 404,000, respectively. Disagreeing with each other, these historians yet concur, that the army at Arbela comprised levies from more warlike nations, and was essentially more numerous, than the army at Issus.

The Macedonian forces consisted of 7,000 cavalry and 40,000 infantry.

At this point of time, a panic suddenly seized the army of Alexander; fantastic dangers vibrated before their eyes, and in their breasts lurked terror. Flashing meteors, not unfrequent on nights in summer*, having the appearance of fire, flaming and relapsing around, they took for the lights of Darius' camp, and supposed that they had incautiously proceeded into the midst of the enemy's posts. Mazæus, who commanded the road, might at this hour have struck a great blow. He remained inactive on the eminence which he had seized, satisfied that he was not attacked.

Alexander, informed of the panic of his soldiers, made the signal to halt; and directed them to pile their arms, and take refreshment and rest; declaring that their precipitate fear was unfounded, the enemy at a distance. At length, recovering courage as a body, they resumed their arms. Alexander, however, deemed it proper to remain in the same place, and to fortify his camp.

48. On the following day, Mazæus, who with a select division of cavalry occupied a height overlooking the Macedonian station—it might be because his orders were merely to re-

* Summer is here opposed to winter. Petavius and Scaliger calculate the battle to have been fought about the first of October. See the year, sect. 56, *marg.*

connoitre—repaired to Darius. The Macedonians succeeded to his post, more secure than the plain, and whence they could view the array of the enemy as it proceeded. The mist enveloping the humid hills, however, while it did not preclude a general survey, prevented the Macedonians from distinguishing the separate corps, and minutely tracing their dispositions. The multitude inundated the plains; notwithstanding the distance, of so many thousands the bustling hum filled the ears.

His mind no longer unwavering, the king now balanced his own determination against the counsel of Parmenio; with consideration, admitted too late; for, after advancing so far, to return otherwise than as a victor, would expose him to destruction. Dissembling a moment of anxious hesitation, he sent forward the mercenary Pæonian horse. His infantry he kept divided in two phalanxes, flanking them by his cavalry. At length, progressive day dissipating the mist, the army of Darius was distinctly visible: The Macedonians, either from cheerfulness or impatience, as on the point of engaging, discharged a powerful shout; the Persians replied by acclamations, and the woods and valleys contiguous rung with an appalling sound.

The Macedonians were with difficulty re-

strained from rushing to the charge. Alexander deemed it more judicious, remaining on the hill, to fortify his camp. He directed an entrenchment: this promptly completed, he withdrew to his tent, whence he could survey the marshalled army of the enemy.

CHAP. XIII.

Preludes to the battle in both armies. The Macedonian order of battle. Alexander's address to his troops.

49. HERE, a panorama of the approaching conflict presented itself to Alexander's view. Horses, as well as men, habited in superb coats of mail; preparations for battle diligent and unremitting; generals riding with active zeal along the ranks of the Barbarian armies—connected with things of less moment; such as the murmurs of the multitude, the neighing of horses, and the flashing of arms—disturbed his mind, anxiously revolving plans for the expected action.

Indecisive, or desirous to sound his officers, he summoned a council, requiring them to pronounce what seemed best to be done. Parme-

nio, the most accomplished of his generals: "Rather than a pitched battle, I advise re- "course to stratagem. In the dead silence of "the night the enemy may be overwhelmed: "for nations so discordant in language and "customs, attacked in their sleep, terrified by "unexpected danger and by formidable dark- "ness, will plunge tumultuously together, un- "able to form. But were the Scythians and "Bactrians encountered in the day-time, their "faces hideously rough, their untrimmed ropes "of hair, together with their monstrous sta- "ture, may scare your soldiers, more affected "by imaginary than by rational causes of fear. "Moreover, in a set battle, our small force "may be surrounded by so vast a multitude; "for we have not to fight in the narrow de- "files of Cilicia, but on an open and extended "plain." Almost all concurred with Parmenio. And Polysperchon, in a positive tone, declared, that the victory depended on executing what Parmenio had suggested. The king, fixing his eye on Polysperchon, (for Parmenio, on whom he had been unintentionally severe in the late council, he wished to spare,) then spoke: "To "robbers and way-layers belongs darkness; for "their aim is concealment. But my glory "shall not uniformly be diminished — either by "the absence of Darius, or by the streitness

" of the field, or by stealing a victory in the " night. I am determined on an open attack. " I would rather have to lament failure, than " to be ashamed of success. On the other " hand, my intelligence states, that the Per- " sians mount reliefs of guards, and remain " under arms, so that it were impossible to sur- " prize them. For battle, therefore, keep your- " selves prepared." With this charge, he dismissed them to take refreshment.

50. Darius, conjecturing that the enemy were on the point of acting as Parmenio had recommended, gave orders, ' That the horses ' should stand ready bridled, and a great part ' of the forces constantly on duty *, and that ' the nightly watches should be kept with ex- ' traordinary care.' Fires illuminated his whole camp; and he in person, with his generals and relatives, rode around the divisions which were under arms. ' The sun, whom the Persians ' denominate *Mithres*, and the *sacred and eter- ' nal fire*,' Darius invoked, ' to inspire his army ' with heroism worthy the exploits and glory ' of their ancestors.' And he affirmed, ' That,

* This unusual measure; the gloomy silence, with the anxious expectation and fatigue of a restless night, discouraged and exhausted the spirits of the whole army, and infused double terror into those who had witnessed the miserable disasters on the banks of the Granicus and the Pinarus. *Gillies*, after Arrian.

'if human discernment could read tokens of 'celestial aid, the gods were their allies. They 'had lately struck with a panic the Macedoni- 'ans, who, still oppressed with imaginary ter- 'rors, were throwing down their arms. The 'time had arrived when the guardian deities of 'Persia would punish those maniacs; who had 'a leader not their superior in intellect,—As 'wild beasts are wont, he was so intent on his 'prey, that he had fallen into the snare set be- 'fore it.'

In equal solicitude, the Macedonians pass a fearful night, as though the battle were every moment to begin. Alexander himself, never more diffident of his fortune, summoned Aristander to consecrate vows and prayers. The hierophant, habited in white, bearing in his hand sacred herbs, with his head veiled, addressed, jointly with the king, propitiating petitions to Jove, Minerva, and the goddess of victory. When Alexander had finished the rite of sacrifice, he retired to his tent, to dedicate the remainder of the night to repose. But he could not sleep; nor could he intermit the anxious workings of thought. Now, from the ridge of the hill, he meditated to charge the right flank of the Persians; now to drive, with a square front, directly on their centre; now to lead his army obliquely against their left wing.

At length sleep closed his eyes, heavy with mental fatigue.

51. At the dawn of day, the officers, repairing to his tent to receive orders, witnessed with astonishment unusual silence:—He had been accustomed to send for them, sometimes reproving their delay—Now, the decisive crisis impending, he was not risen. Some suspected, that he was not oppressed by sleep, but by fear. None of his guards might presume to enter his tent—although the moment for action was at hand; nor durst the troops take arms, or form into ranks, without their leader's order. After waiting long, Parmenio directed the soldiers to refresh. Circumstances now requiring them to march out [of their entrenched position], Parmenio at length went into the tent: Having pronounced the king's name repeatedly, without effect, he awakened him with his hand: "It is broad day, Sir! The enemy approaches "us, arrayed for battle; while your soldiers, "not under arms, want your orders. Where "is that vigour of mind, which was accus- "tomed to anticipate the most early?" Alexander replied: "Do you imagine that I could "enjoy repose before I had subdued solicit- "ude?" He immediately directed the signal to be made for battle. And when Parmenio went on to express his amazement that the king

could have slept so securely,—" It is easily ex-
" plained," said Alexander; " for while Darius
" was firing the country, razing the villages,
" and destroying the provisions, I was not
" master of serenity: but, now, what should I
" fear, when he offers me battle? He has con-
" summated my wish. But let us postpone
" explanation. Meanwhile, each of you! repair
" to your posts, where I shall be present to
" give you orders."

Rarely—and then more through the entreaties of his friends, than the apprehension of danger—did he fortify himself in mail. Having put on his armour, he joined the soldiers. They had never seen him so cheerful; and, from his intrepid countenance, they augured victory. Having advanced out of the levelled works, the king drew up his forces.

52. On the right flank is stationed an *agema* * (or chosen squadron) of horse, commanded by Clitus: to these were joined the troops of Philotas, and cavalry under other officers. The inner wing of horse was terminated by the troops of Meleager. Next in succession,

* The same term was sometimes applied to a select battalion of foot. Varying with occasions, *agemata* sometimes contained 300, sometimes 3000, men.—Plutarch. *in Eumene*, Diod. lib. xix. Liv. lib. iv. 2. and lib. xxxvii. 40. Polyb. lib. v. 65. Ptolem. *passim*; and Arrian, lib. v.

stood the phalanx. Adjoining the phalanx, the *Argyraspides** were posted, commanded by Nicanor, the son of Parmenio. To these, the division under Cœnos acted as a reserve.—Next, were ranged the Orestæ and the Lyncestæ. Then the foreign corps commanded by Polysperchon, as the deputy of Amyntas. Philagus led the Balacri†, who had recently acceded to the alliance. Such was the order of the RIGHT WING. [And of the CENTRE‡.] On the left

* *Argyraspides*, i. e. *bearers of silver shields;* a corps of light infantry, in number about 3000. They carried a small buckler shaped like an ivy-leaf. — *Examen Critique des Historiens d'Alexandre.* 2de. Edit. p. 454.

† If *Balacri* be a NATIONAL appellative of a small corps, the situation of the country which furnished it has not been ascertained. Raderus, on the authority of Strabo, states, that the inhabitants of Myconé were called Φαλαχροις, *bald-heads*, which in the Macedonian language was changed into Βαλαχροις. [*Balacrois.*] Other commentators suppose *Balacri* to be the name of a regiment derived from the officer who embodied or had commanded it, as we say, in English, *Granby's* horse, or the regiment of *Abercrombie;* and there was an officer in the Macedonian army named *Balacrus:* but these seem to be discountenanced by the words of the context, "acceded to the alliance." And the same words no less repel a CONJECTURAL EMENDATION of Freinshemius of which the translation is,—"Balacrus directed the Phrygians:" because Phrygia as a province had long submitted to Alexander, *ante*, pp. 207, 219, 271; and the army of Phrygians previously embodied remained with Darius, *ante*, p. 425. May not the *Balacri* have come from the *Balearic Isles*, as a dependency of Sidon? Those Isles were peopled from Phœnicia.

‡ The translator supplies these words, as assisting explanation; Curtius rarely distinguishes the centre, prolonging the wings till they

of the army, Craterus directed the cavalry of the Peloponnesians, the Achaians, and the Locrians; to which were joined a squadron of Maliens *. On these closed the Thessalian horse, commanded by Philip. Such was the arrangement of the LEFT WING. Alexander, that he might not be surrounded by the adverse multitude, placed behind his main lines a strong division of Illyrians, Greek mercenaries, and light-armed Thracians, in a semicircle, facing to the rear: other bodies of reserve — the Agrians, under Attalus; and the Cretan archers — strengthened the wings, facing sideways. These provisions were made by the Macedonian leader, that if the enemy should attempt to turn the army, he might encounter a prepared opposition. The Thracians had so versatile an order, that they were ready to support the last line, or act with the van. The front was not more fortified than the flanks, nor the flanks better protected than the rear.

53. The forces, thus marshalled, received orders, 'That if the Barbarians shouted on 'propelling the armed chariots, the ranks, pre-

meet. See ante, p. 314, n. As the left wing, here, consists entirely of horse, all the infantry of the right may be referred to the centre.

* Probably a force contributed by the city Malieus in Thessaly; an independent band, distinguished from the mass of Thessalians.

'serving silence, were to open, and to let them 'whirl through, assured that they could inflict 'no mischief, if unopposed in their career. But 'if the Barbarians drove forward these engines 'without shouting, the soldiers were to appal 'them by acclamations, and launch their 'darts into the horses, restive with fright.' The commanders of the wings were instructed, 'So to extend them, as to avoid being turned; 'without defrauding the centre of its proper 'support.' The baggage, with the captives, including the mother and children of Darius, were left on a rising ground, at a small distance, under a moderate guard. The left, as at other times, was committed to Parmenio; Alexander in person commanded the right. The armies were yet distant beyond the range of a dart, when Bion, a deserter, galloping up to the king, announced, 'That Darius had planted 'iron caltrops over the ground where he ex- 'pected the Macedonian horse:' and he described the place by an accurate mark, that they might escape the snare. Having ordered the deserter to be detained, Alexander summons his generals, and imparting the information, desires them to apprize the men of the danger, and advance by another track.

As the stunning complicated din from the two armies, prevented his troops from hearing

in a body, Alexander rode from station to station, and thus addressed the captains, and such soldiers as stood nearest.

54. " This is our last conflict. How many " regions have we traversed, looking forward " to the victory which we are going to achieve! " The river Granicus; the ridges of Cilicia; " Syria and Egypt conquered by passing " through them, are irresistible incitements to " confidence and glory. The Persian fugi- " tives, overtaken, attempt to fight, merely be- " cause they cannot fly. This is the third day " that they have stood under their loads of ar- " mour, fixed in the same position, scarcely " surviving their terrors. What stronger symp- " tom of despair can they give, than burning " their cities and fields, thus acknowledging, " that whatever they cannot destroy must fall " into our hands? Their empty names for tribes " unknown cannot scare brave men; nor does " it concern the decision of the war, to know " who are called Scythians or Cadusians. Ob- " scurity is the lot of the ignoble. Heroes do " not dwell in oblivion. But unwarlike hordes, " dragged from their dens, bring into the field " nothing but a savage name. To such emi- " nence in manly virtue have you arrived, that " there is not a spot in the whole earth igno- " rant of the Macedonians. Observe the ill-

" appointed corps of the Barbarians: Some
" have no weapon but a dart; others poise
" stones in a sling; few of them have proper
" arms. There stands the greater crowd; here,
" the stronger army. Nor do I call you to ex-
" ercise intrepidity, unless you see me, an ex-
" ample to other soldiers, combating in front of
" the banners. As many scars as I gain, I num-
" ber so many ornaments of my body. You
" well know, that, contented with a small share
" of spoil, I expend the rewards of victory to
" honour and enrich you. This I have said to
" the brave. If there are any others here, let
" them know, that having advanced hither, it
" is impossible to retreat. Such is the expanse
" of country to be retraced; so multiplied are
" the rivers and mountains obstructing return;
" that to our native land and household gods
" a passage can be cut no otherwise than by the
" sword."

CHAP. XIV.

The speech of Darius to his army.

55. DARIUS, posted in the left wing*, was environed by a strong column of chosen horse and foot. He viewed with disdain the small numbers of his antagonist; considering him to have enfeebled his line by the elongation of the wings. Conspicuously seated in his lofty car, with looks and gesticulations directed to the troops on the right and left, he commanded attention to his words: "Recently, lords of all "the climes from the Hellespont to the ocean, "we have now to fight, not for glory, but for "safety; and, what we prize above safety, li- "berty. This day will establish or terminate "the largest empire that any age has known. "At the Granicus, an inferior proportion of our "forces were engaged: when vanquished in "Cilicia, we were covered by Syria, and the "Euphrates and the Tigris served as bulwarks "to our dominions — — But if we cannot "make a stand here, no place of retreat re-

* This may be reconciled with the accounts of Arrian and Plutarch, who place him in the centre. See ante, p. 314, n.

" mains; by continued armaments, every thing
" in our rear is exhausted,—the cities are unin-
" habited, the earth is deprived of cultivators.
" Our wives and children, who have followed
" the levies, are but so many spoils prepared
" for the enemy, unless we interpose our bodies
" as a rampart before those dearest objects and
" pledges of affection. On my part, I have
" collected an army, such as the largest plains
" can scarcely contain. I have furnished it
" with horses and arms, and victualled it abun-
" dantly. Lastly; I have selected a field of
" battle where our whole line may act. The
" rest depends on yourselves. Dare to con-
" quer, and you will conquer. The enemy's
" reputation, a frail weapon against determined
" men, despise. You have hitherto feared, as
" intrepidity, mere temerity, which, when the
" first furious fit is exhausted, drops inert, like
" an animal that has lost its sting. These spa-
" cious plains expose the scantiness of the ene-
" my, which the Cilician mountains concealed.
" You perceive thin ranks, wire-drawn wings,
" a centre quite drained. With regard to their
" last line,—it faces to the rear, in readiness to
" fly. Ye gods! were I barely to send among
" them my armed chariots, they might be tram-
" pled to death by the horses. All the victo-
" ries of the war will be transferred to us, if we
" gain this battle. They have no place of re-

" fuge; here the Tigris, there the Euphrates,
" bars them in. Their acquisitions will con-
" duce to their ruin; a heavy booty impedes
" their operations, while our army moves with
" expeditious freedom. Entangled in spoils
" won from us, they may be overwhelmed;
" and the same thing which will cause our
" triumph, will reward it. If the name of a
" people startles any among you, recollect that
" the arms, without the persons, of the Macedo-
" nians are there; for blood has mutually flow-
" ed, and the comparative destruction falls
" more severely on the less numerous army.
" However Alexander may strike the inactive
" and the timid, he is but an individual, and,
" if I can estimate him, rash and absurd, hi-
" therto successful more through our irresolu-
" tion than his own courage. Nothing can be
" permanent which is not built on moderation;
" and though he appears to prosper, ultimate
" punishment awaits his presumption. The
" tenor of all things is subject to sudden vicis-
" situdes, and there is no unmixed felicity. It
" may be the will of the gods, that the Persian
" empire, which a career of success during two
" hundred and thirty years, elevated to the
" highest grandeur, should by a mighty shock
" be chastised rather than overthrown," to re-
" mind us of human frailty, too seldom advert-
" ed to in prosperity. It was recently that we

" carried war into Greece; now we have to re-
" sist the invasion of our native land: thus are
" we tossed by the mutability of fortune; for
" universal empire, which both parties affect,
" eludes the grasp of either. Admitting we
" cannot hope to recover all, let our extremity,
" incapable of aggravation, animate us. My
" mother, my daughters, my son Ochus, heir
" to these dominions, with several princes of
" the blood, and your commanders, equal in
" dignity to kings, wear the conqueror's chains.
" The greater part of me languishes in cap-
" tivity, but I have reliance on you. Liberate
" my children; restore me those pledges for
" which I am willing to die, my children, my
" mother,—for I have lost my wife in that pri-
" son. Perceive how they all lift up their
" hands, imploring the aid of our national gods,
" and calling on your commiseration, attach-
" ment, and courage, to release them from ser-
" vitude, fetters, and precarious sustenance.
" Can you believe they contentedly obey
" whom they would disdain to govern? But
" the enemy approaches, and the closer danger
" comes, the less what I have said satisfies me.
" By our guardian deities, by the eternal fire
" carried before us on altars, by the dazzling
" sun which rises within the limits of my do-
" minions, by the immortal memory of Cyrus,
" who transferred the empire from the Medes

" and Lydians to the Persians; I conjure you
" to vindicate our name and nation from the
" last disgrace. Full of cheerfulness and con-
" fidence, begin the charge, that you may
" transmit the glory received from your ances-
" tors undiminished to posterity. In your
" right hands, you bear liberty, power, and
" every future reliance. Whoever despises
" death, escapes it; the trembling only are cut
" off. I ride in a chariot, not merely to comply
" with a national custom, but to be seen by the
" army; and I do not restrain you from imi-
" tating me, as I furnish an example, either of
" weakness or bravery."

CHAP. XV.

The battle of Arbela.*

56. MEANWHILE, Alexander, to avoid the ensnaring artifice, disclosed by the deserter, made a circuit. Further, that he might encounter Darius, who directed the left wing, he caused his army to advance obliquely. Darius, in the same manner, moved to meet him;

Olymp. cxii. 2., *A. C.* 331. *Ætat. Alex.* 26. *Reg.* 6.

* It is material to recollect that the field where the two armies encounter is distant full 50 miles from Arbela, the place after which the battle is named. Gaugamela stood about half-way between the scene of action and Arbela. Compare with p. 406, ADDITIONAL NOTE (N), pp. 407, 408, 412, 413, 423, 427, 429.

having detached Bessus with the Massagetan horse, to charge in flank Alexander's left wing. The armed chariots, which preceded Bessus, on a signal, were discharged in concert against the enemy; driven under a loose rein, that greater numbers, taken unprepared, might be destroyed by the velocity of the shock,—some were dispatched by the pikes projecting from the poles, others were mutilated by the sithes fixed laterally. The Macedonians did not gradually recede, but broke their ranks to fly. Mazæus, also, to increase their consternation, sent round a thousand horse to plunder their baggage; and he expected that the captives, guarded together with it, would, on the appearance of their friends, terminate their confinement.

Of this transaction, Parmenio, who commanded the left wing, was apprised; he therefore sent Polydamas in haste to the king, to represent the danger, and to receive his orders. "Return," said Alexander, "and tell Parmenio, that if we gain the victory, we shall not only recover our own, but capture all the enemy's baggage. Therefore, let him not weaken the line, but continue fighting manfully, and, agreeably to the practice of me and my father Philip, despise the loss of the baggage."

Meanwhile, the Barbarians were pillaging the camp. The prisoners, having broken their

fetters, and killed the greater part of their guards, armed themselves with whatever was at hand, and, in conjunction with the cavalry, fell upon the Macedonians, who were now exposed to complicated mischief. Several liberated, exulting, acquainted Sisygambis, that Darius was victorious; and that the enemy, defeated with stupendous slaughter, at length had lost all their spoils: for they concluded, that their countrymen, having had everywhere equal fortune, were now, as victors, traversing the field for plunder. Notwithstanding the liberated Persians exhorted Sisygambis to moderate her grief, yet the mourner preserved the same attitude as before, nor spoke a word, nor did her lips or countenance change colour; but she sat without motion, (I believe fearing that precipitate joy might provoke fortune,) so that the spectators could not form a judgment of her inclination.

57. During these proceedings, Amyntas, a field-officer in the Macedonian cavalry, either by his own act, or by Alexander's order, brought a few troops to support the party with the baggage. But unable to sustain the shock of the Cadusians and Scythians, after a short skirmish, he repaired to the king, having rather witnessed than obstructed the loss of the baggage. Alexander's dissatisfaction disturbed his decision; he

he became apprehensive that impatience to regain their property might make the soldiers quit the line; he therefore detached against the Scythians Aretes with the pikemen denominated *sarissophori**.

Meanwhile, armed chariots (which had broken several companies near the beginning of the line) were driven against the phalanx. The Macedonians, unintimidated, admitted them; the soldiers which had wheeled, stood as a bulwark in a double line, and with coöperating spears, stabbed in the belly the horses on each side as they rushed on at random: then surrounding the arrested machines, they precipitated to the ground those who defended them. Such was the slaughter of horses and charioteers, that the space was filled up; no longer governable, the affrighted animals, by reiterated plungings, broke the harness, and overturned the vehicles. Wounded horses yoked to horses slain, were too weak to drag forward, and too wild with pain and terror to stand still. A few, however, of the chariots penetrated to the rear; as many men as were struck by them met a miserable death; of the sufferers, notwithstanding the

* The *sarissa*, one of the weapons of the Macedonian phalanx, was a pike about twenty-one feet long. See Leland's *History of Philip*, vol. i. p. 82, *et seq.* edit. 1775. The shorter *sarissa*, carried by some descriptions of cavalry, was a javelin.

ground was strewed with their dissevered limbs, several, feeling little anguish from their wounds, while they continued heated, did not resign their weapons, till, through excessive bleeding, they fell down lifeless.

58. Aretes, having killed the captain of the Scythians that were pillaging the baggage, pressed severely upon them:—But the Bactrians arriving, once more turned the fortune of the fight; many Macedonians were trodden down at the first charge, the greater part fled back to Alexander. Hereupon the Persians, shouting in the manner of victors, rush furiously upon the enemy, as though their defeat had been universal. Those that had yielded to fear, Alexander reproved and exhorted, renewing himself the languishing fight: Having thus reinvigorated them, he commanded them to return to the attack.

The Persian right wing was most slender in that part whence the Bactrians* had been de-

* According to sect. 46, ante, the post of the Bactrians is in the left wing: but as no centre is described, and as they stood on the right extremity of that wing, one of the slightest evolutions required in battle, or the transfer to another commander without a change of place, would make them part of the right wing. It is merely justice to Curtius to recollect, that the disparity between the two armies was not less than ten to a unit; so that the right and left of the shorter line could not correspond directly to the left and right of the longer parallel: Either of the Persian wings might cover much more ground

tached to seize the baggage. Alexander therefore attacked their defrauded ranks, with slaughtering execution. Now the left wing of the enemy, expecting to enclose Alexander, fell on his rear. Committed between two hostile bodies, his peril had been great, had not the Agrian cavalry charged the Barbarians that invested him, and forced them to face about to defend themselves. Thus a double front was seen in both armies; both assailing and assailed on the van and rear.

The Bactrians, now returning with a booty of baggage, could not recover their post; the greater part of their squadrons, separating, engaged Macedonian corps wherever chance brought them in collision.

As the main-bodies are closing on each other, the rival kings inflame the battle. At this time, more of the Persians had been slain; the number of the wounded was nearly equal. Darius fought in a car, Alexander on a horse: both sovereigns were guarded by select troops, who would have found their own safety a burden, if deprived of their prince, and would have esteemed it glorious to fall in his presence: Those nearest the king were most involved in

than the Macedonian army; and much of each Persian wing must have been disposable to any new station in or out of the line, having no opponents immediately in front.

danger, as every one of the adverse party sought the honour of killing him.

59. Whether it were an optical illusion, or a real appearance, Alexander's guards believed that they saw an eagle hovering over his head: unscared by the clashing of arms or the groans of dying men, it long appeared to accompany their leader, suspended rather than flying. Aristander, habited in white, and bearing a laurel in his right hand, pointed out to the soldiers, whose attention was absorbed by the fight, this bird, the infallible omen of victory. The drooping were animated to high confidence and intrepidity; these received another impulse when the charioteer of Darius was transfixed with a spear: Neither the Macedonians nor the Persians doubted, that it was the king who fell. Loud acclamations and barbarous howlings disturbed both lines, which had hitherto fought with almost equal advantage. The corps of relatives and domestic guards on the left, in crowds deserted the car, which those on the right received into the middle of their division. Darius, with his sword drawn, deliberated whether he should avoid the disgrace of flight by an honourable death. But recollecting his conspicuous station, he was ashamed to abandon his army, which had not all withdrawn from the field. While hope, half extinct, made him pause, the Persians gra-

dually yielded, and lost their order. Alexander, who had tired several chargers, fresh mounted, pierced the faces* of those that opposed him, and the backs of the flying. Now the conflict ceased —to be succeeded by a massacre: and Darius turned his car, as a fugitive. The victors hung upon the rear of the route. Clouds of dust obstructed the view. The pursuers wandered not unlike men in the dark; rallying occasionally at a parole signal. The smacking of the reins, with which the charioteer lashed the horses of Darius' car, at intervals struck the ear, which was all the clue to pursuit.

60. But of the Macedonian left wing, directed by Parmenio, a far different fortune controlled the operations. Mazæus, with all his cavalry, in a furious charge, beset the flanks of that wing; and now, with superior numbers, began to turn its whole line: when Parmenio despatched horsemen after Alexander, to announce his critical situation, and that, unless he received speedy succour, he should be forced to fly. Alexander had chased the enemy a considerable way, when this unwelcome intelligence overtook him. Commanding both horse and foot to halt, he exclaimed: "The victory is "snatched out of my hands, and Darius is more "fortunate flying, than I am pursuing!"

* At the battle of Philippi, Cæsar said: "Soldiers, strike at the face."

Meanwhile, Mazæus received intimation of his sovereign's defeat: which occasioned him, though his force was greater, to press the daunted enemy less severely. Parmenio was ignorant why his assailants sunk into languor: but he seized the opportunity; and riding up to the Thessalian horse: "Do you not per-"ceive," said he "that those who just now "charged us so fiercely, are halting under the "influence of a sudden panic? Doubtless, our "king's fortune, conquering for us, is felt here. "The field is strewed with slaughtered Per-"sians. Why are you inert? Are you not a "match for those men preparing to fly?"

The probability of what he said, struck them, and recalled their firmness. Galloping to the assault, they drove against the enemy; who no longer receded by degrees, but by a quick step, so that to complete their flight, nothing more was wanting than to turn their backs. As Parmenio was still uninformed what the result of the king's operations were, he held his men in. Mazæus, allowed time to retreat, repassed the Tigris, not taking the direct, but a circuitous and safer road, and reached Babylon with the remains of his routed army.

61. Darius, with a few attendants, proceeded toward the Lycus: having passed that river, he had it in contemplation to break down the bridge——But he considered, that so many

thousands of his soldiers, not yet come to the river, would fall a prey to the enemy, were the bridge destroyed: he therefore suffered it to stand, declaring, 'That he had rather furnish 'a passage to his pursuers, than leave other fu- 'gitives destitute of one." Having traversed a vast space, he reached Arbela about midnight.

Who can describe, who can imagine so many sports of fortune as were witnessed—the havock made of officers and soldiers; the wild haste of the vanquished; the slaughter of individuals; the massacre of whole bodies? Into a day were compressed occurrences which might fill an age. Some retreated by the shortest track; others struck into woods and bye-ways. Without leaders, infantry were intermingled with cavalry,—the armed with the unarmed,—the untouched and effective with the maimed and exhausted. But at length sympathy yielded to terror; and those who could not keep up, were abandoned amid mutual groans. Feverish thirst parched the fatigued and wounded, who flung themselves down in the ways, greedily drinking such water as gurgled along; repeated draughts out of slimy streams, soon produced constipation in the bowels, and agonizing spasm. Such of the enemy as could overtake the sufferers, roused them from a prone posture by fresh wounds on their limbs, relaxed and numb. Various fugitives, turning aside from the nearest

brooks, because they were preoccupied, drained secluded spots of water; nor did shallow puddles escape the thirsty stragglers. Villages bordering on the road resounded with the wailings of the aged boors, and of women, calling in rustic tones, even now, on Darius as their king.

62. Alexander, when he checked his pursuit, had penetrated to the Lycus. The bridge there was choked with an immense crowd of the flying: but the greater number, as the enemy were pressing on them, plunged into the river; where, encumbered with armour, and weak through fatigue, many sunk engulfed in the whirlpools. Not the bridge only, but the ford was too narrow for them; whole divisions climbing over each other with headlong impatience to escape. Consternation makes men blind to dangers greater than the danger which they seek to avoid. Alexander's men requested, that they might follow and gall the enemy now retreating unmolested: but the leader said: "Our "weapons are grown blunt, our hands tired, "and our frames exhausted by so long a chase; "and, besides, night approaches." In truth, he was in pain for his left wing, and determined to move to its support. Soon after he had faced about, messengers from Parmenio announced that his part of the army was also victorious.

Alexander had not, during the day, been exposed to greater peril than he was on his

return to the camp. The few who attended him, elated with victory, had left military order, for they concluded all that were surviving of the enemy to have fled. On a sudden appeared a corps of Persian horse, who at first halted; then, perceiving the inconsiderable force of the Macedonians, they charged them vigorously. The king advanced in front of the banners, dissembling the danger rather than despising it. Nor did his usual happiness in extremities fail; for the Persian commander, rushing on him with more ardour than address, was transfixed by his spear. Alexander killed several others who presented themselves. His *Friends* likewise fell upon the enemy, who were now in disorder. Nor did the Persians die unavenged, for the main armies fought not with more fury than the divisions thus accidentally meeting. At length, as twilight supervened, preferring retreat to combat, they escaped in separate squadrons. The king, having surmounted this extraordinary peril, conducted his men in safety to the camp.

63. On this day there fell of Persians, whom the victors could enumerate, forty thousand; and of Macedonians, less than three hundred*. The victory was gained by the hero, unassisted

* Arrian marvellously numbers the slain at 300,000 Persians, and 100 Macedonians; and of these hundred, makes sixty fall in the last casual rencontre. Diodorus states 90,000 of the Persians to have been killed, and 500 of the victors.

by favouring localities, which had once availed him against disparity. He had disposed his army skilfully; he fought valiantly. It was an act of great wisdom to disregard the loss of the baggage: the paramount object was the battle; and while it was in suspense, he acted the conqueror. He made an impression on the adverse main-body; he routed it; and—almost incredible in so impetuous a spirit—in pursuing it, he consulted prudence, rather than indulged eagerness; for had he continued the chase, while one of his divisions remained engaged, he might have been defeated through his own error, or have been indebted for rescued victory to the achievement of another. Had the returning conqueror been disconcerted, when he met unexpectedly the host of horse, he must have fled disgracefully, or have perished miserably.

Neither ought his officers to be defrauded of their merited praise; whose wounds testified their bravery. Hephæstion's arm was transfixed by a spear; Perdiccas, Cænos, and Menidas, were almost killed with arrows. If we can estimate the Macedonians of that age, we shall pronounce the king to have been worthy of his subjects; and them, of Alexander the Great.

ADDITIONAL NOTES.

[A.] *Quotations from Latin Authors, respecting the Macedonians and Parthians.*

PAGE 5.—" But seeing that this invidious sentiment has stamped upon our literature many traces of its spirit."]—First, the elegant lines of Horace, lib. II. Ep. i. 232...244, unjustly arraign the taste of Alexander; for they represent him as indiscriminately rewarding the poetaster Chœrilus: contrary to the well-known anecdote of the compact between him and Alexander, by which he was to have a piece of gold for every verse the king approved, and a box of the ear for each of the others. The result was, that the unfortunate versifier, after reciting a long poem on the *Exploits of Alexander*, received the stipulated reward but for seven lines, and the discouraging discipline for the rest. The Great Macedonian was constantly lamenting that he could find no Homer to patronize.

This national jealousy extended even to the Conqueror's predecessor. In the third book of his *Odes*, XVI. 13. Horace says:

> ——————— Diffidit urbium
> Portas vir Macedo, et subruit æmulos
> Reges muneribus.
>
> Philip the gates of cities burst,
> And rival monarchs undermin'd,
> By force of gold.

And Valerius Maximus, in the same spirit, affirms, that " Philip might be called the purchaser, rather than the conqueror of Greece."—*Lib.* VII. cap. ii. *Extern.* 8.

Connected with this feeling there seems to have been a latent apprehension of the states and countries comprehended under Persia; among whom the name of Alexander was still venerated as if he had been the restorer, and not the subverter of their ancient empire and greatness. Thus, addressing Augustus, Horace says:

Tu civitatem quis deceat status
Curas, et orbis solicitus, times
Quid Seres, et regnata Cyro
Bactra parent, Tanaisque discors.

What attitude imperial Rome should take,
Your care decides; and, watchful for the world,
For peace alarm'd, you wait what hostile plans
The distant Seres, or rich Bactra's court
Which Cyrus rul'd, or restless Scythian tribes
On Tanais' banks, may meditate.

Odarum, lib. III. xxix. 25.

Again, the great powers of Oriental Asia are viewed with lively interest.

Jam mari terrâque manus potentes
Medus, Albanasque timet secures;
Jam Scythæ responsa petunt superbi
Nuper, et Indi.

His arms, powerful by land and sea, the Mede
Already fears, to meet the Albanian
Battle-axe unwilling; now fierce Scythians, too,
And haughty Indians, his resolves await.

Carmen Seculare, 101.

The prince of Roman Orators has recourse to the disingenuous artifice of unduly exalting the character of Philip, by invidious praise, merely to depress, in reviling language, that of his greater son. Speaking of both, he pronounces "Alter "semper magnus; alter sæpe turpissimus"—*the one always great; the other often superlatively base.* (Cicero, de Offic.)

The historian Livy has many passages depreciating the lustre of Alexander's military reputation, in comparison with the celebrated, and even of some obscure, commanders of Rome; of which a specimen or two will be adduced.

"I do not deny that Alexander was a commander of "consummate merit: but still his fame owes part of its lustre "to his having been single in command, and to his dying "young, while his affairs were advancing in improvement, "and WHILE HE HAD NOT YET EXPERIENCED A REVERSE "OF FORTUNE."

Drawing an imaginary picture of the possible reception the Great Macedonian would have found, had he invaded the territory of Rome, Livy thus proceeds:—"I shall enumerate "the Roman commanders—and not every one of every age, "but those only—with whom, either as consuls or dictators, "Alexander might have been engaged:—Marcus Valerius "Corvus; Caius Marcius Rutilus; Caius Sulpicius; Titus "Manlius Torquatus; Quintus Publilius Philo; Lucius Papi- "rius Cursor; Quintus Fabius Maximus; the two Decii; "Lucius Volumnius; Manius Curius. THEN, follow a "number of very extraordinary men—had it so happened, "that he had engaged in war with Carthage, before he did "with Rome; and had come into Italy at a more advanced "period of life. EVERY ONE OF THESE was equal in "powers of mind and capacity to Alexander."

"Had he come into Italy, he would have owned, that he "was not dealing with Darius, who drew after him a train of "women and eunuchs."

"Italy would have appeared to him a country of a quite "different nature, from Asia—which he traversed in the "guise of a reveller, at the head of a crew of drunkards—if "he had seen the forests of Apulia, and the mountains of "Lucania, with the recent vestiges of the disasters of his "house, where his uncle, Alexander, king of Epirus, had "been cut off."—*Baker's Livy*, ix. 17.—See much more to the same effect in *capp.* 18 *et* 19.

[B.] *Callisthenes' Account of the Battle of Issus.*

P. 6. n. (†).—"Polybius charges him with a total ignorance of tactics in his description of the battle of Issus."]—The following fragment is a specimen of the history of Callisthenes; collected from Polybius, lib. XII. Extract 6. by omitting the unprofitable strictures which the latter had interjected. As far as the passage can be thus restored, it may be usefully compared with other narratives of the same battle.

"Alexander had already led his army through the passes "which are called in Cilicia the *Gates;* when Darius, having "taken his route by the Pylæ Amanicæ, had with his army "entered Cilicia. The latter, being now informed by the people "of the country that his enemy had advanced toward Syria, "put himself in motion to follow him. When the Persian "king arrived near the streits, [which lead into Syria,] he en-"camped on the banks of the Pinarus. The ground which he "occupied contained a space of only fourteen stadia from the "sea to the foot of the mountain; and the river, falling down "the craggy sides of the mountain, ran obliquely through this "ground, and passing over the plain, between some hills that "were rough and difficult of approach, discharged itself into "the sea. When afterwards Alexander counter-marched, with "a design to meet his antagonist, Darius "and his officers drew up their *phalanx** "in order of battle upon the very ground "upon which they had at first encamped; "they were covered in front by the Pinarus, which ran "close to the camp; and they posted the cavalry upon "the margin of the sea; next to these the Mercenaries "along the bank of the river; and lastly the Peltastæ at "the foot of the mountains.

* This term is perhaps a mistake of Polybius, or the copyist of one of the works.

"Meanwhile Alexander, being informed, after he had advanced with his army beyond the Pylæ, [into Syria,] that Darius had entered Cilicia, and was at the distance of only a hundred stadia behind him, immediately counter-marched, and re-passed the streits; making the phalanx his advanced guard, covering his main-body with the cavalry, with the baggage in the rear. As soon as he came into the open plain, he separated the army from the baggage, and formed the phalanx into a dense line, by thirty-two in depth. At some distance afterwards he ranged them by sixteen in depth; and at last, when he was come near the enemy, by eight. When the Macedonian commander was at the distance of forty stadia from the enemy, he "*led his army with the front towards them**. In order to oppose that detachment of the Persian forces that was posted on the sides of the mountain, he formed a part of the line in the figure called the Forceps.

* This is one of the expressions at which Polybius cavils. It appears to mean simply, that Alexander NOW ADVANCED HIS ARMY IN LINE, having before marched from his flank.

"Further Alexander took care so to draw up his army, that he might himself be engaged against Darius: and Darius also had at first the same intention with respect to Alexander; but he afterwards altered his design.

"When the enemy approached, Darius, who was in the centre of the line, called the Mercenaries to him from one of the wings. The cavalry upon the right wing then advanced and vigorously charged the Macedonians. The latter received them with equal courage; and the fight on both sides was maintained with the greatest bravery."—*Polybius, lib.* XII. *Extract* 6.

Polybius omits the description of the battle itself, in order to criticise the above sketch of the previous arrangements. He however drops one local circumstance connected with the retreat, which is too valuable to be lost.

"The torrents which descended from the hills, had formed so many pits in the plain, that the greatest part of the Persians were lost in those pits as they fled."

It would be tedious to add the strictures of Polybius upon this account merely to repel them*. But the Translator of Curtius will just remark that three great mistakes seem to pervade the critique alluded to; which when pointed out, must deprive it of all weight, notwithstanding the military talents of the writer. 1. Because Callisthenes has stated that the position in which Darius encamped was fourteen stadia broad in front, Polybius has assumed that the area of the field into which the gorges of the streits open was every where precisely of that breadth; whereas it possesses great varieties of form and dimension, occasioned by the sinuosities of the mountains on one side, and the inflections of the coast on the other; but for the most part expanding as the traveller advances from Syria to the North. 2. Polybius alleges, that there was not room to draw up the armies in line within this space. Certainly not: in this lay the advantage of Alexander; for he might post as much of his army as the ground would contain in the order indicated; and when he had formed as extended a front as the Persians could bring to meet him, keep the rest in reserve. 3. In describing the places which the Persian forces occupied, Callisthenes does not say, that they were all in line, as Polybius assumes: on the contrary, from want of room, they appear to have been in confusion before they engaged.

* Indeed M. Schweighœuser, in his edition of Polybius, has shewn some of them to be futile.

The last objection of Polybius is so much in the style of a parade general, that it may be adduced as a curious specimen of the feeble weapons which a great tactician on paper may introduce at a review—where all the manœuvres are managed by the pen.

"*Now, again: was it possible for the phalanx to* ADVANCE, "IN ORDER OF BATTLE, UP THE BANK OF A RIVER, "WHICH WAS BROKEN AND UNEVEN, AND COVERED ALSO "WITH BUSHES IN ALMOST EVERY PART?" [*Polybius, ut supra.*]

Our military critic was a good quiet compromising sort of Greek, who had made Rome his adopted country.—This will be sufficient concerning Polybius.

[C.] *On the Impropriety of making Curtius refer to the same authorities as Arrian. Who were his select and capital authorities? must remain a problem.*

P. 8.—"the authorities extant when he wrote."]—It would exceed the limits of a note to enumerate all the early historians of Alexander, cited or alluded to by classic writers, and which might have been accessible to Curtius.

Of the five whose names are admitted into the revised Introduction, ARISTOBULUS is supposed to have been rejected, for the following reasons in addition to those given in the text of the Supplement.

Curtius and Arrian do not always relate the same transactions; some incidents being peculiar to each; and even in relating the same affair, they frequently differ in the circumstances. As it is, therefore, evident that Curtius deliberately rejected materials which Arrian chose to follow,—it were absurd to make him, in an imagined Introduction to his history, set out with declaring that the two identical writings which Arrian prefers, are his chief guides and authorities; and his dependence on them the same. It is more reasonable to suppose, that those parts of Arrian's history, with which nothing correspondent can be found in Curtius, and for which some other authority is not cited in Arrian, were derived from Aristobulus.

From what source the Roman historian of Alexander drew his materials, must remain a problem; of which a clue to the solution has been lost with the *first book*. In the ninth, by a casual association, PTOLEMY, CLITARCHUS, and

TIMAGENES are expressly named by Curtius; but not in such terms as to indicate that he would rely on any one of them to the exclusion of the others, or without consulting all the primary and secondary historians of credit within his reach. It is therefore surprising, that M. de Sainte-Croix—a writer whose judicious combinations of curious and important facts elicited by profound erudition, has, in his historical researches, thrown an unexpected light upon many points that were obscure—should have advanced the opinion, that Curtius has reposed on Clitarchus as his leading authority, so as to be little more than his translator. This opinion is discussed at the close of this note, under the title EXTRACTS from *Examen Critique des Historiens d'Alexandre.*

As CALLISTHENES died before the occurrence took place which gave occasion to the passing remarks of Curtius, in his ninth book,—it is not to be inferred from the silence of Curtius respecting Callisthenes in that place, that he had not consulted his historical fragment as far as it continued to narrate previous transactions.

Still we are at a loss to assign on probable grounds what primary historian was the leading authority of Curtius, when his narrative widely diverges from the tenor of Arrian's. Although we may infer that his first book contained a discriminating catalogue, the Translator will not make any farther assumptions in his name by way of Supplement; but merely introduce here notices of a few more of the ORIGINAL WRITERS whom he might have consulted.

MARSYAS, of Pella, the son of Periander, wrote ten books of *History*, beginning with the first king of Macedonia, and ending with Alexander's march into Egypt, and the foundation of Alexandria. He also wrote a treatise *On the Education of Alexander;* with whom, by the favour of Philip, he had been educated as a fellow pupil. He was brother to Antigonus, who after Alexander's death, succeeded Eumenes in assuming the imperial regency, and attained the sovereignty of Ariana, Assyria, and Asia Minor,

The same Marsyas was admiral of the fleet under Demetrius. PLUT. *in vit. Demosth.*—ATHEN. *lib.* xiv. 7.—*Diod. Sic. lib.* xx. § 50.—*Suidas, in v.* Μαρσυας.

ANAXIMENES, the Lampsacenian, wrote the *Acts of Philip and his son Alexander.*—PAUSANIAS, lib. vi. Suidas informs us, that he accompanied Alexander in his expedition. He is cited by Plutarch, *de Fortuna Alexandri, cap.* iii.

CHARES, of Mitylene, wrote a *Life of Alexander.* He was a confidential attendant, and intimate friend of Alexander; which gave him opportunities of relating on his own knowledge many curious anecdotes of the prince, which he introduced into his history, or rather medley of historical and biographical notes and recollections. His work is cited by Plutarch, in his compilation bearing the same title; and by Athenæus, libb. iii. 13; viii. 2; xii. 2; xiii. 4.—Aulus Gellius, lib. v. cap. 2. has preserved, from him, a circumstantial account of the death of the horse Bucephalus.

BŒTON, one of Alexander's military surveyors and engineers, contributed some materials useful to the historian, and still more available to the geographer, in a work entitled *The several Stations of Alexander during his Expedition.* This Itinerary has obviously a very limited compass as a narrative. It is cited by Athenæus, *lib.* x. 12; and by Pliny, *lib.* vi. 17. The latter however associates with him DIOGNETES, both as a military surveyor and an author. The Translator has given part of Pliny's quotation in ADDITIONAL NOTES to the Second Volume [M].

EUMENES, the Cardian, jointly with DIODOTUS, the Erythræan, arranged and digested the *Ephemeris* or *Diary* of Alexander. The principal part of it was doubtless conducted by Eumenes, who was Secretary to Alexander, enjoyed his entire confidence, and even shared his highest favour with Hephæstion. This work, from the fragments of it which are extant in the citations of a few authors, appears to have been an exact and circumstantial *Journal of the Actions and Domestic Life of Alexander.*—PLUT. *in vit. Alex.*—EODEM,

Sympos. lib. i.—ATHEN. lib. i. p. 434.—ÆLIAN. *Var. Hist. lib.* iii. c. 23.—By the learned M. Dalechamp, commenting on another passage in Athenæus, *lib.* x. c. 9. a work entitled *Commentaries on Alexander's Actions*, founded on the *Diary*, has been attributed to Eumenes.—He was afterwards generallissimo to the two joint kings set up by the imperial party among the successors of Alexander. It is possible that Curtius derived from the *Diary* and *Commentaries* of Eumenes, and from the *Biography* of Chares—or from some early writer among the secondary historians who had used these valuable materials—that circumstantial report of the trial of Philotas, which induced Rooke, the translator of Arrian, to say: "He "has given us the several questions and answers, replies and "rejoinders, with so much nicety, that one would almost "swear he had been fee'd for counsel on one side or the "other." From the same authentic source was probably drawn the account preserved by Curtius, more detailed and intelligible than is extant elsewhere, of the proceedings of Alexander's successors immediately after the imperial victor died at Babylon; and, in short, all the scattered pieces of information which belong to the departments of secret history and private anecdote.

This concludes our brief, but select list of primary authorities. None of these are quoted by Arrian—unless the *Royal Diary*, cited once, *lib.* VII. c. 25, be identified with the *Diary* of Eumenes and Diodotus. M. de Sainte-Croix has by his learned researches extended the catalogue of the historians of Alexander, and illuminated the subject with rays of information, collected by the lens of enquiry into powerful *foci*, far beyond what Vossius, and his predecessors in the same department of historical erudition, had achieved. From the citations in a fragment of Praxagoras, who lived in the reign of the emperor Constantine,—it is evident that up to his time, a great proportion of the histories of Alexander, written respectively by companions and contemporaries of the Great Macedonian, or by compilers living in the next two

centuries, and others later, of which the names are only known, were still extant. With Praxagoras, who was born in Athens, and himself wrote a *History of Alexander*, the chain of ancient tradition on this branch of classical bibliography ends. If any later writer of the Greek or Roman schools quoted the primary historians of Alexander, the works citing as well as the works cited have equally perished, Many MSS., precious and venerable depositaries of the knowledge of antiquity, were doubtless destroyed at the taking of Constantinople by the Turks; as well as by the burning of the famous Alexandrian library.

As to the SECONDARY HISTORIANS or compilers: they may, like Timagenes, deserve and attain a high character: for as by lucid arrangement and elegance of style, they may become more attractive; so when the best sources of intelligence contribute to the derived stream, the aggregate volume of information may be even more correct, as well as more comprehensive, than any individual series of the original materials. Still we shall introduce but two additional names of that class; because it is necessary to confine the selection both to individuals who demonstrably lived anterior to Curtius, and to names of merited distinction.

ANDRONICUS, the Rhodian, a peripatetic philosopher, who published *Commentaries* upon Aristotle, is cited by Aulus Gellius, in his *Attic Nights, lib.* XX. *cap.* 5. for some specimens of correspondence between Aristotle and Alexander.

ERATOSTHENES, the Cyrænian, wrote a *History of Alexander*, in which he especially applied himself to correct the errors in geography committed by his predecessors; but in executing this difficult task, he fell into some new mistakes, which Strabo and Petavius have in part noticed. This failure is to be attributed to the imperfection of the best means for determining the longitude which the engineers of astronomy in that age could invent; and not to any want of diligence and enquiry on the part of Eratosthenes to collect from authenticated Itineraries the best topographical information within his

reach. He himself has well explained, in a passage preserved by Strabo, *lib.* ii. *p.* 47, the cause of inaccurate description on various incidental subjects—and of palpable misconception as to the relative positions on the map of distant places actually visited by, and well known to the writers—of which the first historians of Alexander exhibit occasional specimens. He observes, that "after perusing the Memo-"rials which the library of Alexandria furnished, he was "convinced that the companions of the Macedonian Prince "had only seen in *marching from place to place* those things "of which they speak; and that Alexander himself, having "examined every thing with care, had commissioned some "individuals, celebrated in their professions, to make exact "descriptions of those countries which had been the theatre "of his exploits." This great work of Eratosthenes, now lost in the same gulph which has swallowed up so many others, is quoted with respect by Strabo, *passim;* and by Plutarch in his *Life of Alexander.* Arrian, *lib.* V. *cap.* 3, tells us, that he does not entirely agree with him, in representing, that whatever honours were paid to Bacchus by the Macedonians at Mount Meros, in conformity with the tradition, among the Nysæans, of their having some monuments of that deified hero's expedition thither,—and whatever ascriptions were made to Hercules, founded on local vestiges commemorating that this demigod, too, had penetrated to a neighbouring part of India,—were all performed by the Macedonians for the sake of their king, to put him on a level with those gods themselves. It is difficult to know what Arrian means to say. If he does not agree with Eratosthenes,—who is inclined to ascribe the monuments of Bacchus and of Hercules in India, to the creative invention of the Macedonians,—one might expect to find him attaching credit to the original accounts which describe those monuments; yet he goes on to mingle the reports of the Macedonians and the commentary of Eratosthenes, so as to make the representation indistinct, and leave his own opinion ambiguous. In his *Indian History,*

cap. I. *and cap.* V. Arrian speaks as if he accredited the antiquarian monuments of Bacchus' expedition into India, and rejected only the mythological fictions added by the poets. This jumble of conflicting sentiments appears to have arisen from adopting the reflections, as well as the statements, of two or three authors who viewed the subject under different aspects. The Translator of Curtius takes this opportunity to observe, that as the critics of one school array themselves behind a triple rampart of arguments against the expedition of Bacchus to India, which would agree better with the opinion, that he was in reality a god, which is the parent of the difficulty, than with the plain solution of it that he was a deified man; so they draw many lines of perspicuous demonstration to prove how absurd must be the tradition which chains Prometheus to the Indian Caucasus, with an earnestness which almost makes the reader, as well as themselves forget, that the question is not about the site of a real occurrence, but the imaginary scene of a poetic fable.

After being a disciple of Callimachus, Eratosthenes rose to be principal of the school of Alexandria, on which his talents and his works, displaying at once genius and erudition, reflected superior lustre. He was at the same time a grammarian, a professor of philosophy, a poet, an historian, an astronomer, and a geographer, or rather the founder of geography as a science. He died towards the year 194 before the Christian era.—STRABO et PLUT. *ut supra.*—*Compare with Exam. Crit. des Hist. d'Alexandre,* 2*d* edit. pp. 51, 52, 388, 389.

Dismissing the secondary historians which Curtius might have consulted, the Translator proposes to conclude this note with some extracts from M. de Sainte-Croix respecting the five individuals whose names are admitted into the text of the revised *Supplement;* partly for the additional information which thus will be conveyed, and partly to discuss some points on which different opinions may be advocated.

TRANSLATED EXTRACTS

From *Examen Critique des Historiens d'Alexandre*, with ORIGINAL REMARKS.

1. *Aristobulus.*—"Aristobulus, of Cassandria, in Macedonia," p. 42. Does this mean that Aristobulus was a native of Potidæa, or that he resided in the evening of life at Cassandria? Perhaps the latter is intended; for Cassander rebuilt Potidæa, and the new city was named after him Cassandria. It may be inferred, therefore, 1, that Aristobulus retired thither from Asia; and, 2, that during the sharp competition between the successors of Alexander, he attached himself to the party of Antipater and Cassander. "He "was one of the generals of Alexander." p. 43. How does this appear? Arrian's *Preface* says merely, that he was one of the companions of Alexander in the expedition to Asia; and in the whole of Arrian's work, though often cited as an author, he is never named as a commander, nor is he named anywhere in the history of Curtius. The authority of *Pseudo-Lucian. de Macrobiis*, c. 2, cited by M. de Sainte-Croix, seems scarcely adequate to establish this point; which the silence of all the historians and biographers of Alexander respecting it tends to negative. He was ordered by his royal master to oversee the repairs of Cyrus's tomb. *Arrian. lib.* VI. *cap.* 30. "He lived to the age of "ninety, and did not write his history of this prince, as he "assures us in the Introduction, until he had reached his "eighty-fourth year." *Ex. Cr. p.* 43. This rests on the same passage in the *Pseudo-Lucian.* M. de Sainte-Croix then adverts to the anecdote so adverse to the reputation of Aristobulus as an historian, which Lucian has preserved, and which has been cited in the revised *Supplement* to the present translation of Curtius, pp. 2, 3. To elude the force of this anecdote, M. de Sainte-Croix says: "It is sufficiently

"probable that in this place Lucian intended to speak "of *Onesicritus*, since he introduces soon "after it*, a conversation of Alexander "with this philosopher, [naval captain and "author,] in which he observes to him: "'I should be glad, Onesicritus, after my "death to come to life again for a little "time, only to know what the people then living will say of "me: for I am not surprised that they praise and caress me "now, as every one hopes by baiting well to catch my "favour.'"—M. de Sainte-Croix proceeds to say positively—"The name of *Aristobulus* has taken the place of "that of *Onesicritus* by an inadvertence of Lucian, or by "some mistake of his copyists." p. 43. The Translator is surprised that a critic generally superior to the weakness of favouring a particular author, should propose this arbitrary substitution of one name for another. By a thorough change in this easy manner, without any one MS. to support, or printed reading to countenance it, the tenor of any narrative may be modelled to suit any commentator's preconceived opinion; so the force of curious facts may be evaded, and the tendency of unimpeachable evidence reversed. M. de Sainte-Croix still acknowledges thus much: "For the rest, "although Aristobulus has enjoyed the reputation of a "credible author, he appears nevertheless to have been "tinctured with a love of the marvellous."—*ibid.* The stricture in the last clause is avowedly adopted from Strabo, *lib.* XV. p. 476.

* This anecdote of Onesicritus occurs a considerable way after that of Aristobulus; multifarious subjects intervene, and there is evidently no connection between them.

The point of Alexander's reproof to Aristobulus—"who "art *killing elephants with a dart*"—may be illustrated by the little effect which musket-balls are found to have upon these gigantic animals in modern warfare. An elephant has been known to carry about with him from twenty to forty ounce-bullets, lodged just under the skin, without inconvenience.

In collecting outlines for a summary of Alexander's character, M. de Sainte-Croix has elicited one passage of

Aristobulus, which Arrian himself had deliberately suppressed. This gleaning is preserved in Athenæus, lib. VI. p. 251. "Aristobulus relates, that the athleta Dioxippus "seeing this prince (Alexander) wounded, and covered with "blood, repeated the verse where Homer, *lib.* V. *ver.* 340, "speaking of the wound of Venus, says:

> 'Blood followed, but immortal—ichor pure,
> Such as the blest inhabitants of heaven
> May bleed—nectareous.'"

M. de Sainte-Croix adds: "It is probable Arrian has "caused us to lose many traits of this kind."—*pp.* 369, 370.

This perspicuous framer of inductive history apprehends that Curtius in one instance has adopted the account of Aristobulus, in opposition to that of Ptolemy: but the Translator considers the two passages, when compared, to afford no evidence that Curtius took his representation of the occurrence in question from Aristobulus. Let us, first, attend to M. de Sainte-Croix; his words are: "In consideration of "its founder, Alexander was desirous to spare this city "(Cyropolis); but it having been defended with much "obstinacy and taken by assault, they (the storming party) "massacred all the inhabitants by order of this prince, who "had been wounded during the siege. Such is the account "of Aristobulus, adopted by Strabo, *lib.* XI. *p.* 356, and by "Quintus Curtius, *lib.* VII. *c.* 6. But Arrian, who has pre-"served it, *lib.* IV. *c.* 3, reports at the same time the opinion "of Ptolemy. This last assures us, that these same inhabi-"tants of Cyropolis were made prisoners and at length "banished, being dispersed through the country."—*p.* 331. To the Translator here appear to be several mistakes, attributable to a too hasty reference. For on the one hand, Curtius, in the chapter cited, says: "The king directed "Craterus to invest Cyropolis." After several intermediate operations, Alexander "proceeded with a division to join "Craterus."..... To come at once to the point—

" when he had taken, he ordered a chosen party to PILLAGE " Cyropolis." There is not one word about slaying the citizens. The reader may see the connecting circumstances more at length, *Transl. vol.* ii. *pp.* 180, 181. Nor, on the other hand, is the citation from Arrian in the main point more correct. The repugnance in the accounts of Aristobulus and Ptolemy specified by Arrian relates to the " SEVENTH" of the cities taken from the revolted inhabitants, Cyropolis having been the SIXTH. But if we transfer the comparisons to any of the cities which Curtius represents to have been taken by storm, neither there is there any exact coincidence with Aristobulus, or even approach to it. In glancing down the page of Arrian, the eye of M. de Sainte-Croix seems to have missed a line.

2. *Ptolemy.*—This distinguished captain was a native of Eordæa, a small town in Macedonia. After establishing himself on the throne of Egypt, he founded the school of Alexandria. His *Memoirs of the Life of Alexander* have been cited by few of the Ancient authors now extant; indeed, besides Arrian and Quintus Curtius, only by Pliny, *in Elench,* lib. XII. & XIII., and by Plutarch, *vit. Alex.* p. 63. M. de Sainte-Croix, by his observations, p. 44, has contributed to place his high character as an historian on a firmer basis than Arrian's grounds for preferring him afford. As " to compiling his history after Alexander's death," the same might be said of many of the original writers whom Arrian slights as of little value, or totally rejects. Again, when Arrian says : " Some things touched upon by others I deliver " only as reports :" did he know nothing of Eumenes, who belongs to the same class as Ptolemy, in all the points of eminence as a commander, access to the best sources of information, and elevation to princely dignity : while on the question of maintaining the integrity of the imperial dominions by a paramount regency, he was directly opposed to him ?

3. *Callisthenes.*—Strabo has preserved some lines from his *History of Alexander,* on the subject of the journey to

Ammon, of which a translation follows: the extract is garbled, and interrupted by comments:—"Alexander, in- "cited by ambition to penetrate to the oracle, which Perseus "and Hercules, according to tradition, had visited before "him,—set out on his march from Parætonium, notwithstand- "ing a violent south-wind. When he was wandering amid "clouds of sand, he owed his safety to a shower of rain, and "to a pair of ravens which showed him the way." ..... "These things," says Strabo, "are written in the style of "adulation: and what follows is similar. The priest per- "mitted the king alone to enter the temple in his ordinary "habit. The other Macedonians, being required to change "theirs, remained without to witness the oracle about to be "delivered to Alexander. The response is not given here, as "at Delphi and that of the Branchidæ, by words, but chiefly "by a nod, and by signs; as Homer says: *Jupiter speaks by "a nod, and the motion of his heavenly eyebrows.* The priest "officiating as interpreter to the god, announced to Alex- "ander, in audible language, that he was the son of Jupiter. "Assuming the buskin, says Strabo, Callisthenes adds in an "emphatic style, that Apollo, having deserted his oracle of the "Branchidæ, ever since the era when the temple had been "pillaged by the Persians under Xerxes, and the fountain "which had flowed there being vitiated, he had repaired "to Ammon; and that priestly legates from Miletus had "brought" [on a scroll] "to Memphis a series of oracular "responses, touching the several points of Alexander being "the son of Jupiter—the victory which he should gain at "Arbela—the death of Darius—and the changes with which "Sparta was menaced. Callisthenes says moreover, that "the divine origin of Alexander had been equally declared "by Athenaïs of Erythræa, who was similar to the ancient "Erythræan Sybil."—STRABO, lib. xvii. p. 814.

The tenor of this passage is so contrary to the sentiments which the living Callisthenes had the boldness to utter, at the time the proposition was moved to offer divine honours to

Alexander, and on other occasions,—that the Translator of Curtius can account for this, and other veins of extravagant writing, being found in his unfinished history, only on the following hypothesis. He concludes, that the original MS. fell, on the philosopher's death, into the hands of some individual in the train of Alexander, who either had been the rival and enemy of Callisthenes, or was at least a devoted flatterer of the prince; and that thus a clandestine pen made various interpolations in his history, substituting praise for censure,—and attestations in favour of Alexander's divine origin, instead of arguments against the parasites who proposed to exalt the hero into a god. The ridiculous flights of bombast scattered here and there, so unlike the style of his earlier writings, and even of the passage preserved by Polybius, might be malicious strokes by the hand of posthumous fraud, to lessen the reputation of the inflexible philosopher as an historian. Whether or not these inconsistencies and blemishes are the genuine offspring of Callisthenes' mind, or the spurious grafts of detracting artifice, their occurrence in his *History of Alexander* must have made more than ordinary circumspection necessary in the compiler from such incongruous materials.

4. *Clitarchus.*—This historian was a native of Æolia, and a professor of philosophy in the school of Cyrene. "It is "uncertain," says M. de Sainte-Croix, "whether he accom- "panied Alexander in his expedition, or whether he wrote "his history from the *Persic Memoirs* of Dinon his father." *p.* 41. The passage of Diodorus, cited in the revised Supplement to the Translation of Curtius, p. 7, thus mentions him: "CLITARCHUS, *and* THOSE *who with Alexander* "AFTERWARDS *passed over into Asia.*" Now, although the word "OTHERS" is not expressed after "THOSE," it seems to be implied. The adverb "AFTERWARDS"—which, at the first view, might be construed to exclude Clitarchus—has no relation to him as distinguished from the companions of Alexander; but applies to the era of the Macedonian

expedition," as distinguished from the earlier period of the Persian history at which Diodorus is, in that place, describing Babylon.

But the principal point to be discussed, is, the justness of M. de Sainte-Croix's opinion already alluded to in this note.

When this ardent explorer into the sources of ancient history states, that "Diodorus, in his seventeenth book, has "drawn largely from Clitarchus," *p.* 71;—he appears to have a sufficient support for this conclusion in the remains of Clitarchus preserved by other authors, compared with particular passages of the narrative which Diodorus has dedicated to the expedition of Alexander. But, on the other hand, when the erudite framer of the same *Examen Critique* confidently assumes, that "Q. Curtius has drawn his materials "from the work of Clitarchus; or perhaps has translated it, "at least in great part," *pp.* 102, 103;—that "Clitarchus is "the real source of the history of Q. Curtius," *p.* 121;—that "Clitarchus is represented by Q. Curtius," *p.* 425, *n.* (3);—and repeats the same position in varied terms in other places too numerous to collect;—the Translator of Curtius cannot but regard the opinion thus advanced by M. de Sainte-Croix as hasty, gratuitous, and untenable. It will be convenient to divide the passages appealed to as evidence, into four classes.

Class 1.—What Curtius himself has indicated on the subject deserves the principal consideration; for, as far as it goes, it ought to be decisive. Now, the terms in which he speaks of Clitarchus, *Translation, vol.* ii. *p.* 335, is as INCONSISTENT with M. de Sainte-Croix's opinion, that he made Clitarchus his leading authority, or even took any thing from HIM ALONE *tacitly;* as it is CONSISTENT with the occasional insertion by Curtius of passages coinciding in words or tenor, with portions of narrative to be found in the history of Clitarchus, nor there only but supported by a combination of authorities.

The only other place in which Clitarchus is cited in the extant books of Curtius, *Translation, vol.* ii. *p.* 353, is ad-

duced by M. de Sainte-Croix, *p.* 409, as one of the instances in which Curtius has followed the account of Clitarchus. But, in the view of the Translator, this very passage is decisive against the opinion that Curtius has generally followed that author, or ever *tacitly* adopts from him the representation of any fact, or circumstance, in recording which that author stands alone. The words are: "Clitarchus writes, "that in this region eighty thousand Indians were slain, and "a great number of captives sold to slavery." To cite an original author thus, is to distinguish him in a marked manner from the authority or authorities on which the secondary historian *tacitly* relies; it is in effect to tell the reader, there is some appearance of exaggeration in the circumstances stated, and they rest on the sole authority of the writer whose name is given. The inference is, that all the other parts of the secondary history, whether they agree or not with the author vouched so guardedly and so sparingly, were DERIVED IN CHIEF from some other source or sources, specified in the lost introduction, and afterwards *tacitly* followed. It is probable that one of these leading authorities was Eumenes.

Class 2.—Let us now consider the fragments preserved of Clitarchus, in which M. de Sainte-Croix alleges a coincidence with the *tacit* narrative of Curtius; and appears to prove the point of agreement either in words, or in tenor.

Q. CURTIUS.	CLITARCHUS.
No. 1.—"This kind of "sacrifice, rather this unholy "sacrilege, the Carthagini- "ans, who derived it from "their founders, are repre- "sented to have used till their "city was destroyed."—*lib.* IV. *cap.* iii. § 15.	"Quintus Curtius has "drawn this from Clitarchus, "as appears from a passage "of the latter cited by Suidas, "in v. Σαρδανιος γελως. We "find there described the "manner in which this abo- "minable sacrifice is prac- "tised in Carthage."—*Exam. Cr. p.* 278, *n.* (3).

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No. 2.—Thalestris, Queen of the Amazons, "undertook "an excursion from her king- "dom, inflamed with a desire "to see Alexander:" &c. *lib.* VI. *cap.* v. § 13.

No. 3.—"This obscure "tribe conquered, he moved "thence to the city Nysa."... ...."The Nysæans asserted "their city to have been "founded by Bacchus."—*lib.* VIII. *cap.* x. §§ 32, 33.

No. 4. "The king then ad- "vanced to Persagada."..... "The tomb of Cyrus Alex- "ander incidentally caused "to be opened, to burn sacri- "fices before the embalmed "corse."—*lib.* X. c. 1. §§ 3, 4.

CLITARCHUS.

"The names of the writers "who have adopted the ad- "venture of the Queen of the "Amazons, have been pre- "served by Plutarch. The "principal of these were Cli- "tarchus, Onesicritus, Po- "lycritus, Antigenes, and "Ister."—*Exam. Cr. p.* 333.

"Clitarchus speaks of "Nysa and the fables rela- "tive to Bacchus."—*Exam. Cr. p.* 733, *n.* (3), citing *apud Schol. Apollon.* lib. II, *ver.* 906.

The allusion in the poem of the *Argonautics*, on which this scholium is grafted, is a mere scrap.

——Nysæus, son of Jove—tradition tells—
Leaving his Indian colonies to grow,
Returned, and founded Thebes.

"Pliny speaks of the tomb "of Cyrus at Pasargada, "after having cited Clitar- "chus."—*Exam. Cr. p.* 425, *n.* (3).

Class 3.—Let us now examine those passages which M. de Sainte-Croix has cited, like the preceding, as examples of coincidence; but which, in the view of the Translator of Curtius, present rather proofs of divergence.

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No. 2, above, is admitted into the second class, in order to give the utmost force to the example of agreement in tenor, coupled with it, wide and indefinite as it is. But if we descend to particulars, we find some circumstances of positive divergence which may be reviewed under the third class. Curtius says: "The Amazons inhabited the "plains of Themiscyra, near "the banks of the Thermo- "don. Their queen, Thales- "tris, extended her sway over "all the region between "Mount Caucasus and the "river Phasis."—*lib.* VI. *cap.* v. § 13.

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"Clitarchus says, that Tha- "lestris, journeying from the "*Caspian Gates*, and from "the Thermodon, came to "Alexander."—*Apud* STRABO, *lib.* XI. *p.* 348. Strabo remarks upon this, "that the "Thermodon is more than "6000 stadia distant from "the Caspian Gates." Thus unjustly are authors sometimes condemned, even by honest and—on other points—well informed judges. Three distinct passes were called the *Caspian Gates*, by the ancient Persians, and by some of the Greeks. The first, near Rages, through which Darius was pursued by Alexander; the second, near the river Mardis, two and a half degrees west, by one north, and entering another part of Hyrcania; the third, six degrees farther north, on the west margin of the Caspian. Strabo is thinking of the first; while Clitarchus is speaking of the third. A modern traveller says: "The *Portæ Caspiæ* of the ancients were undoubtedly where Derbend now stands."—*Reinegg's Caucasus*, vol. i. p. 128.

CURTIUS.

No. 5. "Thaïs, flushed with "undiluted cups, suggested "to the king, 'That if he "burnt the palace of the "Persic princes, it would, "above all things, gratify the "Greeks, who expected this "reprisal for the destruction "of their cities by the Barba-"rians.'"....." This was "the end of the court of all "the East."—*lib.* V. *cap.* vii. §§ 22, 23. M. de Sainte-Croix, construing these words in the most extended sense, which indeed has been the course of every commentator, then adverts to the historian's concluding remark: "Were "it not for the river Arosis, "the traces of it could hardly "be found; that river flowed "near its walls; by the neigh-"bouring inhabitants the dis-"tance is rather conjectured, "than ascertained to have "been twenty stadia."—*Q. Curt. ut supra.*

M. de Sainte-Croix adds: "Pliny adopts this error: . . . "'*To Persepolis, the capital* "*of the empire, destroyed by* "*Alexander.*'—lib. VI. c. 26." —*Exam. Cr. p.* 311, *et* n. (3).

CLITARCHUS.

"Respecting this act of in-"cendiary vengeance, Arrian "has adopted the account of "Clitarchus, amplified by "Quintus Curtius."—*Exam. Cr. p.* 312, citing *Athen. lib.* xiii. *p.* 576. "Strabo appears "also to have followed Cli-"tarchus, lib XV. p. 502."—*ibid.* n. (1).

The words of Arrian are: "The royal palace of the Per-"sian monarchs he burnt."—*lib.* III. *c.* xviii.

The passage in Athenæus is, "But had not Alexander "the Great with him Thaïs, "an Athenian courtezan? "whom Clitarchus represents "to have been the person "who incited the king to burn "the royal Persepolitan pa-"lace."

Strabo briefly says: "Alex-"ander burnt the regal palace "of this city."

The Translator of Curtius has two or three observations to offer upon this strange mixture of assumptions, referring five accounts, which exhibit many shades of variation, to the same source.

First, as to Arrian: After what he says in his *Preface*, every thing which he relates TACITLY, that is, without citing some particular authority by name, must be attributed either to Ptolemy or Aristobulus; and to assume the contrary is to violate a canon of criticism. This association of Clitarchus with Arrian, is indeed a remarkable proof, that every slight coincidence between two authors is not sufficient ground for affirming that the second, in point of time, has followed the first as a leading authority.

Athenæus alone distinctly quotes Clitarchus; who seems to confine the conflagration to the palace. The author of the *Examen Critique* is obliged to assume, both that Curtius has FOLLOWED, and that he has AMPLIFIED this representation, to account for the different tenor of the two; but this is to frame inferences—not on the support of evidence, but in opposition to it.

If Arrian, Strabo, and Athenæus be right; and Curtius and Pliny be wrong; is it probable that they all drew the divergent circumstances from the same original?

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No. 6.—" Some call it the " Caspian, and some the Hyr- " canian sea." . . . . " In a " north wind, a heavy swell " breaks over the low beach, " and converts a great extent " of deluged country into a fen: " When the wind blows from " the contrary quarter, the " sea, with equal impetuosity, " driven back to its bed, leaves

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M. de Sainte-Croix introduces a fragment extant in Strabo—which may prove both curious and valuable—by saying: " This historian" [Curtius] " has been misled " both in geography and his- " tory by Clitarchus; at least " one must think so, when " the latter has advanced, " that *the Isthmus between*

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" the land to recover itself." —*lib.* VI. cap. iv. *c.* 9.

The reader may see in a note on the *Translation, vol.* ii. *p.* 88, how exactly the first part of this representation is confirmed by Jonas Hanway.

But M. de Sainte-Croix seems to found his comments on some translation of the passage so essentially at variance with the above, that it will be necessary to compare the original with his adverse remarks. The historian says: *Quidam Caspium, quidam Hyrcanum adpellant. . . . . A* SEPTENTRIONE *ingens in litus mare incumbit, longeque agit fluctus, et magna parte exæstuans stagnat: idem* ALIO CŒLO STATU *recepit in se fretum, eodemque impetu, quo effusum est, relabens, terram naturæ suæ reddit.* CURT. ut supra.

The reviewer of Alexander's historians, intending to give the substance of this, observes: " Quintus Curtius " says further, ' *that this* " *sea makes,* TOWARDS THE

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" *the Euxine and the Caspian* " *was covered with the inun-* " *dations* of those two seas.* " *Apud* STRABO, *lib.* XI. p. " 339. See, without doubt, " the source of the swarm of " errors committed by Quin- " tus Curtius."—*Examen Critique,* p. 863.

The Translator trusts that what he has said in the opposite column evinces that this inference has no support from a comparison of the two passages.

But in contending that these two passages have nothing in common, either in expression or idea; that they relate to different places and times; and that their excellencies or defects are separate and independent; — the Translator of Curtius is not ready to abandon Clitarchus to indiscriminate, and, perhaps, unmerited censure, merely because his own author has steered clear of the supposed errors indicated by Strabo and M. de Sainte-Croix.

It is as important to detect

* *Flots,* the rendering in *Exam. Cr.* is an ambiguous word, signifying either *waves* or *tides.* The Translator believes, that the first idea is Strabo's; and the second, M. de Sainte-Croix's.

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" NORTH, *great encroach-*
" *ments with its waves; that*
" *in the* HIGH TIDES, *it inun-*
" *dates a great extent of flat*
" *shore, and that at length,*
" *reentering its bounds with*
" *the same impetuosity, it re-*
" *stores the land to its natural*
" *state.*' But the Caspian
" sea has neither flux nor re-
" flux, and the winds alone
" cause it to mount over the
" shore, or to sink below
" it, according to the impul-
" sion which they give to
" its waters."—*Exam. Cr.*
p. 711.

The portion of error and absurdity here combated and exposed, is eminently great both in kind and degree: but these mistakes exist not in the text of Curtius, and have been created in the French version which M. de Sainte-Croix happened to consult.

" *Quinte-Curce dit encore*
" *que cette mer pousse,* VERS
" LE NORD, *ses vagues au loin;*
" *que* DANS LES MARÉES
" *elle inonde une grande*
" *plage, et qu'ensuite, ren-*
" *trant dans ses limites avec la*
" *même impetuosité, elle rend*
" *à la terre son état naturel.*"

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the misconceptions of commentators, as to point out the errors of original authors; for they both equally diminish the mass of general knowledge. Critics sometimes intercept intelligence, when their laudable design is merely to exclude error.

To return to the fragment of Clitarchus preserved by Strabo:—under one construction, which we have seen, it is indeed replete with fallacy; but perhaps another interpretation may be put upon it without violence. This interpretation is: " Of no account
" is their hypothesis, who,
" WITH CLITARCHUS, com-
" press the isthmus into so
" narrow a span, that all its
" territory, as they repre-
" sent, is overspread with
" { INUNDATIONS / ALLUVIONS } from the
" two seas."—STRABO *ut supra.*

Now we have to recollect, that in these kind of constructive citations, which do not pretend to give the exact words of the original author, a portion of the absurdity is inferred, and depends on the

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It is scarcely worth while to notice the inaccuracy couched under *vers le nord*, which merely reverses the direction of the driving swell caused by a north wind. The grand error consists in *dans les marées:* there is not one word about the TIDES in the passage of Curtius which this extract professes to represent. The train of misconception appears to have begun in limiting the meaning of *Septentrio* to a mere point of the compass: It is the NORTH WIND when the construction requires it; Livy has the phrase *Acer Septentrio ortus;* and by a similar compression we say in English, "a north-wester." Then, the words of the original *alio cœli statu* have no counterpart in the French outline. This expression—literally "in "a different state of the at- "mosphere"—as decidedly marks both the cause and the time of reäction, as if Curtius had said in plain terms, "When the wind blows "from the contrary quarter." What has *alio cœli statu* to do with the TIDE? The same

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fundamental error which the commentator apprehends, either rightly or otherwise, to have found in the passage criticised. Thus, the member in the above sentence, "com- "press the isthmus into so "narrow a span," seems to be a mere inference drawn by Strabo, under the impression that Clitarchus had meant to say, that the isthmus was covered with INUNDATIONS. But if we reject this inference as no part of what the historian said, and translate one word of what remains differently, the construction will stand thus: "All the terri- "tory of the isthmus is co- "vered with ALLUVIONS "from the two seas."

This will agree with the observations of a modern traveller who resided long at Teflis, and repeatedly visited various parts of the Caucasian isthmus, not accessible without the protection of the respective governments, and the friendly assistance of the natives. He tells us: "The "Gordiæan mountains lead "one to conjecture a very "powerful agitation of the

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which *A Septentrio* has; nothing; the FLOOD and EBB display their vicissitudes only in the French version of Curtius; and therefore the poignant censure of M. de Sainte-Croix cannot apply to the original.

Neither has this description of Curtius any point of agreement with the fragment of Clitarchus, exhibited in the opposite column.

CLITARCHUS.

" sea, and the limestone in-
" dicates a sudden and vio-
" lent ALLUVION. For most
" of the ranges, particularly
" those of coarse limestone,
" are quite of a rocky nature,
" not stratified, and never
" contain petrifactions. The
" bald surface of the calca-
" reous mountains bear marks
" still of the waves having
" acted upon them, and it is
" very evident, that the Black
" Sea has been much higher."
" The loose *strata* dip, with-
" out exception, to the west-
" ward; and they prove, that the greatest impetuosity of
" the waters was from west to east. Some low calcareous
" hills are stratified, and frequently contain testaceous petri-
" factions, with impressions of fish and grass." p. 39.

" Many of the lower mountains, particularly in the bay,
" and at the eastern extremity of the Black Sea, consist of
" loose *strata*, which are become visible in some places,
" owing to their having been furrowed by the rain and the
" streams. I counted one-and-twenty different kinds, dipping
" regularly to the W. between 14 and 15°. The greater part
" consist of sand and pebbles, or loose sand; others con-
" tain indurated carbonate of argill, or argill with sand, and
" RECENT COCKLES."—*p.* 41.

" The Thiuletic mountains consist of fragments of granite
" with whitish-grey, or brown felstein, not containing metal.
" ALLUVIONS of coarse gravel lie on them."—*p.* 54.

" Throughout the whole Caucasian mountains I had met
" with testaceous petrifactions only in argillaceous or calcareous
" earth: but near Zsgetta, on the road to Teflis, there is a

" cleft three feet broad, in a high mountain of compact brown " felstein, FULL OF ALL KINDS OF MUSCLES AND COCKLES, " so blended together as to form a solid mass, and mixed " with white calcareous spath."—*p.* 55.

" The marshes contain carbonate of soda. In fact the " province of Georgia appears to be so full of all kinds of " salts, that they may occasion the decay of the mountains, " which decrease in height very evidently."—*p.* 61.

Description of Mount Caucasus. Translated from the Works of DR. REINEGGS *and* MARSHAL BIEBERSTEIN, *By* CHARLES WILKINSON. London, 1807, vol. ii. *pp. ut supra.*

Class 4.—The idea of M. de Sainte-Croix, thrown out as an alternative, that Curtius was little more than the translator of Clitarchus, remains to be separately treated. It is true, if the internal and comparative evidence, already adduced, be thought to negative the opinion that he took him as his leading authority, *à fortiori* it excludes the idea that he merely translated him. Still a collection of fragments from Clitarchus, with which nothing correspondent, either in words or tenor, can be found in Curtius, will contribute to make the evidence on this point more weighty and decisive.

SENTIMENTS AND MORAL REFLECTIONS.

No. 7.—" Simply to have virtue is not to be accounted " honourable, but rather to exercise it becomingly, and in " proper relations. If you possess virtue, all things are " yours; if on the contrary vice, you are not master of " yourself."

No. 8.—" If you love those things which are not becom- " ing, you will soon cease to prize the decencies of life; " for desire is insatiable, and so always in want, and " wretched."

No. 9.—"Such things as it would offend you to hear, "forbear to say; for if the ears are avenues to great mis- "chief, there is a correspondent peril from the tongue."

No. 10.—"As iron by rust; so the envious are consumed "by their own habits."—*This sentiment is adopted by Plutarch.*

No. 11.—"If you bear the honours of magistracy, exercise "them with mildness; if you live under the dominion of "another, preserve an erect mind."

No. 12.—"It were better to obey fools, than to be obliged "to govern them."—*This sentiment is also attributed to Diogenes.*

No. 13.—"Continence is the foundation of piety. The "desire of having is the beginning of avarice; avarice and "the love of money beget injustice."

No. 14.—"A great portion does not make better chil- "dren."

No. 15.—"It is better to die, than to darken the mind "by incontinence."

No. 16.—"Make provision for thy mind as for a leader; "and for thy body, as for a soldier."

No. 17.—"In deliberative assemblies, strive not to be "the first to deliver your opinion; for after hearing many "others, you will the better see what the public utility re- "quires."

Loci Communes ab Auctoribus Græcis per ANTONIUM *et* MAXIMUM. *Apud* STOBÆUM, *Sermm.* I.—LXIV.—XCV.—XCIX.——CV.——CXL.——CXLII.—CXLVII.—CLXX.

No. 18.—Alluding to the degeneracy of Alexander, when his manners were corrupted by prosperity, Clitarchus says: "His excesses were carried so far, that his soul was obscured "by them; a humiliating state, to which death is preferable." —*Apud* STOB. *Serm.* CCLXXI. *p.* 878.

Piece of Narrative.

No. 19.—" Harpalus was afterwards enamoured of another " courtezan, named Glycera: her he lodged in apartments " at Tarsus, in the palace of the former kings [of Cilicia]; " and after surrounding her with all the honours of a queen, " erected to her a statue of bronze."—*Apud* Athen. *lib.* XIII. *p.* 586.

Scrap of Philosophical History.

No. 20.—" Clitarchus also, in his twelfth book, asserts the " *Gymnosophists* to have been great contemners of death:— " That the *Chaldæans* wholly occupied themselves in astro- " nomy and divination:—That the *Magi* were attentive to " direct and perform the ceremonies of divine worship, in- " cluding sacrifices and prayers to the Gods: they also " discoursed of the substance and generation of the Gods; " which they affirmed to be Fire, Earth, and Water, con- " demning all attempts to represent them by painting or " sculpture, and more especially rebuking the error of those " who affirm the Gods to be Male and Female."—*Apud* Diogen. Laert. *Proœm.*

Chronological Notice.

The Translator of Curtius is not willing to omit in silence the following passage. " From the capture of Troy to " Evænetus, archon of Athens—in whose time Alexander is " said to have passed over into Asia— . . . was an interval, " according to Timæus and Clitarchus, of eight hundred " and twenty years."—*Apud* Clem. Alex. *Opera, tom.* I. *p.* 403.—M. de Sainte-Croix, p. 621, emphatically mentions this, to show that Clitarchus was not entirely negligent of chronology: but as the era of Alexander's passage into Asia

falls within the period which the two lost books of Curtius would have embraced, there can be no comparison instituted between the two historians on this point.

5.—*Timagenes.*—Timagenes of Alexandria, whom Quintilian regards as the restorer of history, having been made a slave on the conquest of his country by Gabinius, was carried to Rome, in the year 55 before the Christian era, and sold to Faustus, the son of Sylla; who some time after gave him his liberty. The lectures on rhetoric which Timagenes delivered, attracted a great number of auditors. His reputation increased still more through his frivolous and unhappy talent for raillery. He happened at first to please Augustus; who commissioned him to write his history. But having abused that prince's confidence; and being on the point of attacking him, his wife, and all his family, by the most biting strokes of satire; he was forbidden to enter the palace of the emperor. In revenge he had the folly to burn his work, in which his genius had described the achievements of Augustus. Timagenes at length quitted Rome, where he had rendered himself odious by his intemperate speeches*; and took refuge at Tusculum, with Asinius Pollio, his faithful friend. In this retreat, Timagenes devoted himself anew to the culture of history, which the Greeks appear to have neglected for a long interval. Perhaps he then discovered, too late for a reconciliation, the danger of writing the history of a living prince. Timagenes, after discarding Augustus as a subject for his pen, still chose nevertheless to employ his capacity for research, his knowledge of languages, and his command of style, in composing for the information of posterity a memorial *Of Kings*. This was the title which he gave to the history of Alexander and his successors. His recorded talents for the art of writing, and his great etudition, offer to us nothing but motives for regretting the loss of his

* "An enemy to the felicity of the city, he was often saying, *That if Rome were burnt, there would be this one cause for grief; that he knew better things would rise from the ruins, than would have been destroyed.*" SENECA, *Epist.* 91.—Surely it was calumny that attributed this to him; or how could he have preserved a character for integrity?

work.—SENECA; SUIDAS; HORAT.; HADR. VALES; AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS, *et* AL. cited more particularly in *Examen Critique des Historiens d'Alexandre*, pp. 55--57.

[D.] *On the Similar Qualities of the expirable and the perspirable Gas.*

P. 18.—"Not only his breath was fragrant, but the effluvia "from his pores had a congenial purity."]—This trait in the description by Freinshemius, in support of which he cites a stronger passage in Plutarch, has excited the suspicion and ridicule of those who do not know how consonant it is with the discoveries and conclusions of eminent physiologists in the modern school of medicine. The question raised upon the passage comes to this: Whether there is such a thing as a sweet breath from any human pair of lungs? for in the chymical constituents and characters of the effluvia from the lungs, and of the dry gaseous odor from the skin, an identity is established, by the concurring results of many experiments. In Blumenbach's *Institutes*, under sect. XI. "Of the Cutaneous Perspiration," these passages occur.

"193. What is most worthy our attention, is, the transpi- "ration [from the skin] of an aëriform fluid, denominated, "after the very acute philosopher who first applied himself "professedly to investigate its importance, the *perspirable* "*matter of Sanctorius*, and SIMILAR TO WHAT IS EXPIRED "FROM THE LUNGS. Like the latter, it is composed of "various proportions of carbon, nitrogen, and hydrogen; "precipitates lime from its solution; and is unfit to support "either flame or respiration."

"195. Upon the same hydrogen, variously modified by the "accession of other elements and constituents, would seem "to depend the natural and peculiar odor perceived in the "perspiration and sweat of certain nations and individuals."—

Institutions of Physiology, by J. F. BLUMENBACH, *Professor of Medicine in the University of Gottingen, Translated from the Latin of the third and last Edition, by* JOHN ELLIOTSON, *M. D. Second Edit.* 8*vo. London*, 1817, *pp.* 112, 113.

This explains why, after eating onions, or taking sulphur or musk, or any strong-scented substance, the peculiar odor attached to it may be perceived at the ends of the fingers, or at other parts of the surface of the cuticle remote from the alimentary organ.

The fragment of description which Plutarch has preserved, and which Freinshemius vouches as his authority, is as follows: "And it is said that his frame yielded effluvia sweetly "constituted; so that his clothes were filled with a fragrance "rivalling the odor of aromatics. This quality seems to "have been owing to his warmth of temperament; in like "manner as very arid and hot tracts of land produce frank-"incense and cassia; and Theophrastus delivers an opinion, "that this fragrance was generated by a certain concoction "of humours, whereby whatever was noxious might be "separated by heat, and dispelled before reaching the cuta-"neous vessels."—PLUTARCHI *Symposiakon, Problem. lib.* i. *Quæstio* 6.

[E.] *On the Plant which produces Frankincense.*

P. 21. — "Incense-bearing Arabia."] — It is generally agreed, that the Gum-resin, called *Olibanum*, is the Frankincense which was used by the Ancients in their religious ceremonies. The assertion of Linnæus that the tree bearing it is a species of Juniper,—as well as the ascription, by the botanists of his school, of this character to the Lycian Juniper,—appears to be a mistake; at least the affirmative has never been proved. We learn from Theophrastus and from Pliny, that the Greek writers differed in their description of the tree.

Pliny adds, that the information contained in the volume addressed by King Juba to C. Cæsar, grandson and adopted son of Augustus, was inconsistent with other accounts; and further remarks, that the Ambassadors who came to Rome from Arabia in his own time, had rendered the whole matter more uncertain than ever. The information obtained in modern times from Arabia is not more satisfactory.

Olibanum is named *Luban* and *Cundur* by the Arabs. But Benzoin, having been introduced into general use, as incense, in place of Olibanum, the name of *Luban* has been appropriated to that fragrant Balsam; and the Muhammedan writers of India, on the Materia Medica, apply only the term *Cundur* to Olibanum. The author of the "Mekhzenuladviyeh" describes the drug as the gum of a thorny plant a yard high, with leaves and seed resembling the myrtle. It grows, he says, on the mountains of Shahar and Yemen. He, however, adds, that the plant is said to be found in some parts of India. The *Tohfut ul muminin* gives a similar description, without attributing the plant to any part of India; and so does the Arabian author Abulfadli.

From the Hebrew *Lebonah*, or Arabic *Luban*, the Greeks obtained their names for the tree and the gum *Libanos** and *Libanotos*. They seem likewise to have been acquainted with the term *Cundur*; from which κόνδρος is probably derived.

* This serves to explode the notion which connected the *Thus* plant with Mount Lebanon.

The Hindu writers notice a fragrant resinous gum, under the name of *Cunduru*, for which their grammarians assign an etymon as a Sanscrit word. They declare it to be the produce of the *Sallaci*, a tree vulgarly called the *Salaï*. A plant known by that name was examined by Dr. Hunter on his journey to Oojain; and by Mr. H. T. Colebrooke, on a journey to Nagpoor: and it has been figured and described by Dr. Roxburgh, who has named it *Boswellia Serrata*. The gum which exudes from it was noticed by Mr. D. Turnbull, then surgeon to the Residency at Nagpoor; he

judged it to be Olibanum. The same gentleman afterwards returned to his station at Mirzapoor; where he procured considerable quantities of the gum of the *Salaï*, which he sent to Europe at different times; first, without assigning the name of Olibanum; and more lately under that designation. In England it was recognised for Olibanum, though offered for sale as a different gum; and annual consignments of it have been since regularly sold at the East-India Company's sales. This amounts to proof that the plant anciently called *Libanus thurifera*, and which bears a gum of which the Modern Latin name is *Olibanum*, is a native of some districts in India, as well as of Arabia Felix.—See ASIATIC RESEARCHES, *vol. IX. art. 7, On Olibanum or Frankincense, by H. T. Colebrooke, Esq.*

[F.] *Notices of a Revolution in Alexander's Dramatic Taste.*

P. 34.—"In his early youth, Alexander despised Comedians: but afterwards conforming to the taste of Greece, "he patronized them at public entertainments."]—The original passage of Freinshemius omits to bring into review this revolution in the Prince's dramatic taste; as though his aversion from Comedians had continued through life. His words are: "Alexander despised Comedians as a class "whose profession did not harmonize with his designs; for "he conceived that their exhibitions tended to vitiate public "morals." In support of this too unqualified statement, he cites *Athen. pr. lib.* xiii. *Dio. Chrysost. orat.* 2; *Plut. orat.* 1. *de Fortun. Alexand. cap.* 6. Dr. Gillies, in his History of Greece, chap. xl. cites *Plut. orat.* 2. *de Fortun. Alexand.* in support of the following different representation. "ALEXANDER, DURING HIS EARLY YOUTH, TOOK DELIGHT IN "DRAMATIC ENTERTAINMENTS." It may be permitted the

Translator to observe, that so much of this conflicting position as represents Alexander in his *early youth* to have taken delight in dramatic entertainments, is not borne out by the passage referred to in Plutarch. That authority merely tells us, in relating a detached incident:—"*In the age of Alex-*" *ander,* lived the tragedians Thessalus and Athenodorus; " these being rival candidates for the prize of merit, the kings " who reigned in Cyprus undertook the cost of having trial " plays repeated, in order that the magistrates who presided " among the audience as theatrical judges, might decide " which actor was most applauded by the public. When " Athenodorus was proclaimed the victor, Alexander said, " '*I would rather have lost part of my kingdom, than have seen* " *Thessalus vanquished.*' Nevertheless he neither interfered " with the judges, nor censured their decision; feeling that " he whom fortune had made the superior of all others, ought " himself to be subject to justice."

A parallel passage in another work of the same author fixes the period of Alexander's life to which both apply. In the second a fuller detail of circumstances proves that the king was then twenty-five years of age. Plutarch says: "*At his return from Egypt to Phœnicia,* he honoured the " gods with sacrifices and solemn processions; on which " occasion the people were entertained with music and " dancing, and tragedies were presented in the highest per-" fection." After relating several anecdotes connected with the public contest for the prize of merit between the celebrated tragedians, Athenodorus and Thessalus,—the biographer tells us: "Another actor named Lycon, a native of Scarphia, " performing with great applause before Alexander, dex-" trously inserted in one of the speeches of the COMEDY, a " line applying to the king, in which he asked for ten talents. " Alexander laughed, and gave him them."—*Plut in vit. Alexandri.*

The text of Freinshemius and this account are not repugnant, if we apply them to different periods of the Prince's

life. It appears that when victory had showered on Alexander inexhaustible means of splendour and luxury, he resigned some severities which both Greeks and Asiatics must have regarded as singular. The comedy of the day might, in Alexander's youth, have shocked him by its coarse personality and indecent buffoonery; and such a governor as Leonidas, would either engage or confirm him in the revolt.

The spirit of this note may be applied to other passages as well in the *Supplement* of Freinshemius, as in more voluminous *Histories of Greece*, being modern compilations from ancient works. Formed of gleanings from promiscuous authors, or from scattered passages in the same author, it easily happens that statements which involve an apparent contradiction when brought together, are admitted in detached places from a casual association, without that explanation which is wanted to reconcile them. For example, Alexander is said in one place, *Supplem.* p. 37, to *have avoided intoxication;* and in another, p. 18, to *have had a propensity to wine.* Both these statements are from Plutarch. If they are thought to predicate what is incompatible, they may be referred to different periods of the same individual's life. Curtius himself however never leaves to a commentator the office of making a similar explanation for him; but in drawing the character of Alexander, distinctly refers to two stages of his life.—Translation, vol. i. p. 332; and vol. ii. pp. 96, 412. The one commenced when the Prince entered on public affairs fresh from the hands of his tutors; continued with even tenor until some time after the battle of Issus; declined as his prosperity augmented; and perhaps soon after the fall of Darius left him master of Asia, his ambition and his love of pleasure had openly free'd his elated spirit from the curb of moderation. Still the period of excess may not have commenced in all the lineaments of his manners at the same point of time.

[G]. *Doubtful whether any Equestrian Statues of* Alexander taming Bucephalus, *executed in that age, have been preserved.*

P. 40.—" Alexander taming his horse, was a subject which " the chief artists of that age were emulous to celebrate."] Freinshemius adds the following notice: " Two equestrian " statues in marble of *A Man taming a Horse*, are still " pointed out to us by some antiquarians, as having been " executed by Phidias and Praxiteles in a trial of skill " between them. Although it may be doubted that these " are statues of Alexander, writers not unknown to the lovers " of the fine arts believe them to be so." Thus to connect the names of Phidias and Praxiteles, with the supposition that the subject might be the Taming of Bucephalus, involves a double anachronism. Phidias flourished a century before Alexander; and Praxiteles about a generation or thirty years before. Some Italian antiquarians, cited by Freinshemius, led him into this error. One of the works which they had in view, was the celebrated statue on the Monte Cavallo at Rome, inscribed *Opus Phidiæ*. Mr. Day's faithful cast of this stupendous work has lately brought it under the eye of the British public. The style countenances the ascription of the work to Phidias; which so far excludes the supposition that the figure of the man can represent the young Macedonian hero; but were it even by a contemporary of Alexander, the subject, as the man and horse are grouped, seems not to have been designed for the Taming of Bucephalus.

[H.] *The Authorities for Alexander's March to Jerusalem.*

P. 258.—" He marched into Judea with a design to punish their contumacy."]—Some persons may be disposed to infer, that had Curtius credited the account which occupies the

remainder of the chapter, it would have been introduced into that part of his history which has been preserved. The historical episode supplied by Freinshemius, is founded upon the authority of Josephus, [l. xi. c. viii.] corroborated or qualified by incidental passages in Tacitus, Zonaras, and other writers. Dr. Gillies supposes the account of Josephus to be "a story "invented by the patriotic vanity of the Jews," on the following grounds: 1. All the historians of Alexander are silent concerning his journey to Jerusalem, and his extraordinary transactions there;—2. It is inconsistent with the narrative of Arrian: "The conquest of Phœnicia was *followed* by the "submission of all Palestine, except Gaza:" Alexander had thus no occasion to march against Jerusalem;—3. The conversation between Alexander, Parmenio, and the high-priest Jadduah, as related by Josephus, is contradictory to the best-authenticated events in the life of Alexander; for Parmenio, in asking Alexander, "Why *he whom all the world adored*, "should himself adore the high-priest of the Jews?" is made to allude to an expression of homage which Alexander did not require till long after the period referred to by Josephus; —4. The Chaldæans could not have accompanied him, as that writer alleges;—5. The high-priest could not, with propriety, have requested Alexander to permit the Jews settled in Babylon and Media, the free exercise of their religion, before that Prince had conquered those countries, or even passed the Euphrates.

The reflecting reader will perhaps be of opinion, that some of these difficulties, and those which at first view present the firmest countenance, may be repelled. To the SECOND objection, for example, any one of the following replies seems independently efficient.

The account of Josephus is not irreconcilable with the narrative of Arrian.

Arrian's "Expedition of Alexander," though a COMPILATION deservedly valued, is chargeable with material omissions and positive errors.

> The invader of Persia, in the eager pursuit of encouraging omens and sanctions from the temples and priests of all religions, often went where he had no *military* occasion to go.—Witness his march to the *oasis* of Ammon.

It is sufficient to insist, that the narrative of Arrian is chargeable with material omissions.

And, it may obviate the FIRST objection, to consider,—That had we the annals of every people whom Alexander subdued, we should probably find transactions recorded of the highest interest in the view of every individual historian of his own nation, which all the other writers on the conquests of Alexander have omitted:—Not to suggest, on a different ground, that if Parmenio conceived that the son of Philip descended in prostrating himself before the Jewish high-priest, the Greek writers who accompanied the conqueror in his expedition, viewing, like Parmenio, the interview as degrading, might *deliberately suppress it.*

It is *incredible*, that Alexander, whose spirit was as inquisitive as ambitious, should move from Tyre to Gaza, without visiting so renowned a place as Jerusalem.

The FOURTH objection asserts, that the *Chaldæans* could not have accompanied Alexander. Must we understand, by the word, natives of Chaldæa, a province in the bosom of the Persian empire, whither Alexander had not penetrated? Even then it seems an extraordinary position. Could not the camp which held Sisines, [see, infra, book iii. chap. vii. § 17.] contain any native Chaldæans?—But the Chaldæans who accompanied Alexander, were, probably, sages of the sect of Zoroaster, who founded the Chaldæan system of philosophy, of which the chief branches were magic and astronomy, with a mystical ontology, from which was afterwards borrowed the Manichean error: his disciples spread over a wide tract of country from the Tigris to the Nile; numbers settled in Syria: using a language common to the sect, they were called *Chaldæans*, without any regard to their birth-place.

The conqueror of Syria might have in his service as many of these sages as he chose to retain; and as the Chaldaic language has great affinity with the Hebrew, of which it is a dialect, he might take to Jerusalem such attendants, as interpreters, to prevent the Jewish priests from imposing on him any factitious reading, or gratuitous construction, of their prophecies. It may not be irrelevant to add, that, besides other parts of the Scripture, the book of Daniel, from ii. 4. to vii. *ult.* is written in Chaldaic.

The substance of the above was written in 1809, *and printed in a note to the first edition of the Translation of Curtius. Since* then, the author of *Examen Critique Historiens d'Alexandre, who had at first expressed an opinion coinciding with that of Dr. Gillies, has in the second edition of his work, dated Paris,* 1810, *given reasons for retracting his sceptical comments on this passage of Josephus. He thus candidly states what moved him to reconsider them.* "The English Trans-
"lator of my work, Sir Richard Clayton, adopts the
"sentiment of Bayle, and rejects, with reason, that
"which I had at first hazarded."—p. 562, n. (4).

As M. de Sainte-Croix's translation of the passage in Josephus is founded on a collation of MSS., it may not be superfluous to give it, that it may be compared with the narrative of Freinshemius.

"When engaged in the siege of Tyre, Alexander wrote to
"the high-priest Jaddus, who had succeeded Jonathan, his
"father, demanding a supply of provisions, and of auxiliary
"troops. Jaddus answered by a refusal, founded upon the
"promise which the Jews had given Darius not to bear arms
"against him. Alexander, on this slight, threatened to
"march against Jerusalem as soon as he should have taken
"Tyre. The result was, that master of that city, *and of*
"*Gaza,* he began to lead a force against the capital of Judea,
"with the intention of making the inhabitants experience
"the terrible effects of his anger, as the Phœnicians and the

" Chaldæans, who were with him, believed. On intelligence " of this, the high-priest offered sacrifices in the temple, and " instituted public prayers. God, appearing to him in a " dream, commanded him to open the gates of the city, and " to go without fear, in his pontifical investiture, attended by " all the sacerdotal order, to meet Alexander. In conse- " quence Jaddus, accompanied by the priests and by the " people, went out of Jerusalem, and advanced to a station " called Sapha, whence there was a view both of the temple " and the city. The spectacle of all the people clothed in " white, of the column of priests robed in linen, and of the " high-priest with his ephod and mitre, in front of which was " a plate of gold with the NAME OF GOD inscribed upon " it; this sight, I say, made such an impression on the " Macedonian Prince, that, advancing alone, he worshipped " the NAME, and saluted the high-priest. All the Jews " returned him this salute by a simultaneous shout, and sur- " rounded him. The princes of Syria, and their retinues, " believed that Alexander had lost his understanding. It " was no other than Parmenio, who, approaching the king, " had the boldness to ask him, 'how he could do such an " act, being adored by the whole world, as to prostrate " himself before the high-priest of the Jews? Alexander " answered: 'It was not him that I adored, but that God, " under whom he exercises the high-priesthood. When I " was at Dium in Macedonia, I saw him in a dream with " these ensigns. I was meditating then upon the means of " making myself master of Asia. He exhorted me not to " defer my enterprize, and to pass with confidence [the " Hellespont], because he would himself conduct my army, " and deliver into my hands the empire of the Persians. " Having never seen any other person in the same habiliment, " I called to mind my vision, and the exhortation which the " same form gave me. I believe, therefore, that, under the " guidance of God, I shall vanquish the army of Darius, and " destroy the power of the Persians; in fine, that the result of

" all will be according to my desires.' Alexander, having " given his hand to the pontiff and to the priests who accom- " panied him, marched to Jerusalem. On his arrival in " the city, he ascended to the temple, and offered there " such sacrifices as the high-priest prescribed. At length " Jaddus showed to him the book of Daniel, where it was " specified that a Greek should overthrow the empire of " the Persians. Alexander, persuaded that this prophecy " related to himself, was rejoiced at it, and dismissed the " assembly. On the morrow, he caused the people to be " convened, and enquired what favours they desired. The " high-priest supplicated him to give permission to the Jews " to govern themselves according to the laws of their fathers, " and to exempt them from tribute every seventh year. All " which he granted. The Jews, being assured that such as " would serve him, should have the privilege of living accord- " ing to their own laws and ceremonies, many enrolled them- " selves voluntarily in his army. Alexander however soon " afterwards distributed them in the neighbouring towns " which submitted to him.

" The Samaritans of Sichem next presented themselves so " as to meet the king not far from Jerusalem, and intreated " him to come to their city, and enter their temple. He " gave them to hope that he would, on his return. They then " demanded an exemption from tribute every seventh year; " in which they were forbidden to sow their lands. As they " affirmed they were Hebrews, the king enquired of the " Sidonians respecting this; who denied that they were so. " Whereupon he replied to the Samaritans: 'I have granted " that favour only to the Jews; when I return, better in- " formed respecting the affair, I will exercise my pleasure " therein.'" Such is the account of JOSEPHUS, *Ant. Jud.* lib. XI. *c.* viii. § 4 . . . 6.

M. de Sainte-Croix then gives an extract from the *Samaritan Chronicle*; a curious fragment, which conducts Alexander to Mount Garizim. The beginning in some points runs

parallel with the account of Josephus; the conclusion contains many fictitious circumstances, peculiar to the Samaritan Chronicle, and repugnant to historical facts. The learned critic pronounces the design of the author to have been, to transfer to the Samaritans what Josephus had recorded of the Jews on the occasion of Alexander's visit to Palestine.

M. de Sainte-Croix proceeds to give many extant proofs, that the tradition of Alexander's visit to Jerusalem had spread through all the east.

Abúlfeda, the Arabian historian, assures us, that this Prince, after having fought Darius, and entered the Persian frontier, passed to Jerusalem, and honoured the Children of Israel.

The Greeks and the Romans cherished so much hatred and contempt for the Jewish people, that they affected not to speak of them in their writings. Josephus records his astonishment at the absolute silence which Jerome of Cardia has maintained respecting this people, notwithstanding Hieronymus Cardianus was Procurator of Syria, lived, so to speak, along with him, and wrote a history *Of the first Successors of Alexander.* Hecatæus of Abdera, a contemporary of Hieronymus, was less warped by passion. He records, [*apud* JOSEPH. contra APION, I. 22.] that at the time of the battle of Gaza, eleven years after Alexander's death, the Jewish nation possessed many fortresses and towns in the country of Palestine; and that Jerusalem, fortified by art and nature, contained alone 105,000 inhabitants, notwithstanding a considerable emigration which the troubled state of Syria under the successors of Alexander had occasioned.

M. de Sainte-Croix proceeds to say, that such a city would naturally attract the attention of a Prince whose object was the dominion of Asia; nor would he leave its strength in an adverse relation behind him. Arrian's hasty narrative has therefore adhered to general congruity, in placing the submission of Palestine before the siege of Gaza; and the detailed account of Josephus, in dating Alexander's visit to Jerusalem

afterwards, has reversed the order of the two events. But this mistake cannot invalidate the whole of his evidence, which agrees with that of Hecatæus as to the Jews enrolling themselves in the service of Alexander. The Abbreviator of Trogus has preserved a circumstance, which though indistinctly sketched, is another collateral confirmation. "Then "he marched into Syria; where many princely rulers met "him, with *mufflers*."—[i. e. veils, either upon their heads, their banners, or their spears, as emblems of devoted submission.]—JUSTIN. *lib.* XI. c. 10. Lastly, not to neglect the least vestige of fact: Quintus Curtius informs us, 'that 'Alexander, after the siege of Tyre, marched through those 'towns, which had shown a disposition not to submit.'—*lib.* IV. c. v. In this notice, he is as brief as Arrian, but more discriminating.

In his recapitulation of all the principal points, M. de Sainte-Croix observes:—We must not dissemble that the account of Josephus offers many difficulties. The first is, the question of Parmenio to Alexander, *Why he whom all the world adored?* Doubtless, it was not until some time after Darius had fallen, and the usurper Bessus had been reduced, that some of the Macedonians, base flatterers of their king, bent themselves in the Persian form of prostration before him. But as to his Asiatic subjects, no other consequences can be thought of, after the battle of Issus, than that the natives of the places falling under his dominion, should render to the conqueror, in his progress, the same honours as to their own monarch.

Secondly, how could Alexander know that it was the name of God, that was inscribed upon the golden plate in front of the high-priest's mitre? This objection does not seem worth answering. But much of the information which the Author of the *Examen Critique* elicits—in the course of a reply, which ought to put such drivelling out of countenance—is highly interesting. Cyrus, Darius son of Hystaspes, and Artaxerxes Longimanus, had all expressed their homage to

the God of Israel, by causing offerings on their part to be solemnized in his temple: but Alexander was the first who entered it. Ptolemy Evergetes afterwards sacrificed in the same temple; and Augustus maintained, at his own expense, a yearly immolation of victims on its altar. But to revert to the privileges and benefits which Alexander conferred upon the Jews, Hecatæus records, that ultimately he transferred to them the territory of the Samaritans, without exacting any impost. He even visited Jericho; where, Pliny tells us, *lib.* XII. *c.* 64, a shell was filled in his presence with a specimen of the balm of Gilead, flowing from the tree, in the course of a summer's day.

Thirdly, the name of the high-priest, Jaddus, offers some difficulties, inasmuch as two writers of the middle age state Jaddus to have lived under Artaxerxes Mnemon. M. de Sainte-Croix adduces a preponderance of evidence of prior origin, shewing, in agreement with Josephus, that Jaddus presided over the temple at Jerusalem under Alexander.

Fourthly, it is objected against the account of Josephus, that he represents some *Chaldæans* to have accompanied Alexander. M. de Sainte-Croix notices that certain scholars have proposed to surmount this difficulty, by understanding the Jewish historian to speak of the Northern *Chaldæans*, or Chalybes of Asia Minor: but he justly dismisses this poor subterfuge of a feeble advocate, to have recourse to something more plausible. "Those Chaldæans," says the Author of *Examen Critique*, "whom we find in the Macedonian "Prince's train, were indubitably the satraps and command-"ing-officers of that part of the Persian empire who had come "in and transferred their services to him." The Translator of Curtius cannot, however, subscribe even to this reply as complete and satisfactory; for if the body of renegades from Darius were not designated in the Macedonian camp by the general name of "Persians," why should they not be called after some grand division of the empire that had submitted, rather than by the name of a province not yet conquered?

They were no more Chaldæans than they were Medes. Although he can adopt, without reserve, the able vindication which M. de Sainte-Croix has framed for Josephus on other points; yet he cannot but think that the reviewer of Alexander's historians has on this one, overlooked the true grounds on which a tenable defence is to be built; and therefore begs leave to refer the reader to that extensive signification of the word *Chaldæans*, which—detaching it from every national relation—applies it to a sect of Eastern philosophers, using the Chaldæan as their learned tongue.

M. de Sainte-Croix concludes by saying, that all the objections which have been made to the narrative of Josephus respecting Alexander's journey to Jerusalem, must vanish from before the eyes of a discerning and impartial critic.

The literary Journalist cited in the note, p. 258, *Translation of Curtius*—when he notices that "the narrative of "Josephus has the high authority of M. de Sainte-Croix"—adding, "that he has done all that ingenuity can effect to "render at least the main facts of the common account "credible"—dexterously avoids to do three things: either to retract an opinion formerly given adverse to this very narrative of the Jewish historian; to invalidate the evidence adduced by the Author of *Examen Critique*; or to admit the force of his arguments.

[I.] *On the meaning of* Spicula.

P. 286.—...."carrying lances adorned with silver, and "javelins headed with gold."]—*Currum decem millia hastatorum sequebantur:* HASTAS *argento exornatas,* SPICULA *auro præfixa gestabant.* CURT. Looking at each word as standing alone, grammarians and verbal critics are more likely to insist upon such an interpretation of *hastas* and *spicula* as has been already given, than to object to it.—See *Classical Journal*, No. XX. p. 309. But weighing the entire sentence

in the scale of reason, the Translator is inclined to consider the *hastas argento exornatas*, and the *spicula auro præfixa*, as relative parts forming but one instrument, consisting of—the spear-staff, inlayed or embossed with silver; and the spear-head, mounted with gold. Under the opposite construction, the short javelin, a missile thrown away in battle, has its blade formed of that costly metal, gold; while the lance or halbert, which is retained in the charge, and is more conspicuous on the parade, is ornamented with silver only. *Hasta pura* occurs in other authors, for the handle of a spear; and if we may collect the sense in which Curtius introduces *spiculum* from other more decisive passages, he never employs it for the entire weapon, but as the barb or head attached to a shaft. The following examples have no ambiguity:

Quos dum obsidet rex, inter promptissimos dimicans sagittâ ictus est, quæ in medio crure fixa reliquerat SPICULUM. *lib.* VII. c. vi. 23.

Barbari quoque ingentem vim sagittarum infudere ratibus: vixque ullum fuit scutum quod non pluribus simul SPICULIS perforaretur. VII. ix. 34.

Quidam e muro sagittâ percussit. Tum fortè in suram incidit telum; cujus SPICULO evulso admoveri equum jussit. VIII. x. 35.

. . . . Rege in tabernaculo relato, medici lignum hastæ corpori infixum—ita ne SPICULUM moveretur—abscindunt. Corpore deinde nudato animadvertunt hamos inesse telo, nec aliter id sine pernicie corporis extrahi posse, quàm ut secando vulnus augerent. Ceterùm, ne secantes profluvium sanguinis occuparet, verebantur; quippe ingens telum adactum erat, et penetrasse in viscera videbatur. . . . . At Critobulus. . . . hortari eum cœpit, Ut se continendum præberet, dum SPICULUM evelleret. IX. v. 18.

The *spiculum*, or metal part, might be annexed either to the *hasta*, the *telum*, or the *sagitta*; that is, to the spear, the javelin, or the arrow. In a subsequent age, the same thing was no longer indicated by the same word. Vegetius explicitly states, that the word *spiculum* came to be substituted for *pilum*, as the ENTIRE NAME of the Roman javelin—comprising a wooden shaft of five-feet-and-a-half in length, with a triangular iron head of nine inches: But looking only at the places in which Curtius has introduced *spiculum*, to find the sense in which we should read it, the more just

interpretation of the passage in book iii. appears to be: "carrying lances adorned with silver, the spike-heads mounted in gold."

The *exornatas* of the original will comprise any style of ornament of which the works of oriental armourers afford specimens. "Many of the figures on the blades of their swords are wrought in gold or silver, or in marquetry with small gems."—*Asiatic Miscellany, vol* i.

Flavius Renatus Vegetius lived in the fourth century under the reign of Valentinian, to whom he dedicates a work entitled *Epitome Institutorum Rei Militaris.* The passage from his second book, c. 15, cited in part above, literally is: "The greater missile weapon consists of an iron head nine inches long, on a wooden shaft of five-feet-and-a-half; which was originally named PILUM, now it is called SPICULUM." The different sense in which Curtius employs it, may be added to the arguments for assigning a comparatively early date to his history.

The alternative version in the text of the work, was given in deference to the commentaries of a paper in the *Classical Journal,* signed "E. H. Barker;" and supported by such a display of quotations, that the Translator thought it safer to adopt it provisionally, and then give reasons for a varied translation, than directly oppose himself to so much learning.

However the other authors summoned by the learned essayist may uphold his argument, the more this very passage of Curtius is examined, it appears to disavow the service into which it was pressed; for is it probable that the same men carried both lances and javelins? It may be collected from Tacitus, *Ann.* II. c. 14; XII. c. 35, that in the Roman army, some corps carried lances; and others, javelins; the entire set of arms in each company being different on system: but where is the precedent for arming the same soldier with a lance and a javelin? As species of the same genus, they were so nearly allied, that to the military tactician their degrees of utility would present points rather of competition than union.

[J]. *On the Positions of the Cilician Passes, and particularly on the Site of the* PYLÆ AMANICÆ.

P. 309.—... "the Persian forces came to the streits of 'Amanus, on the same night that Alexander reached the "pass which leads into Syria."]—The exact situation of the *Pylæ Amanicæ*, or streits of Amanus, is still a problem, owing to the notices of it, which the ancient writers have left, being few, vague, and indistinct; and the sites of one or two of the other Cilician passes are involved in more or less of uncertainty and complication, rather from the commentators having misapprehended some points in the original accounts, than from any similar deficiency in the materials. This note will therefore be devoted to an inquiry into the true location of the Amanic streit—as far as this can be deduced from the relative positions of the other passes, the lines of march of both armies, and the site of the battle. To begin from some fixed point, and proceed by ascertained stages,—let us first examine the series of passes through which the line of Alexander's march lay, following the direction of his movements.

I. The first is by eminence the Cilician pass, leading over Mount Taurus, from the province of Tyana in Cappadocia. As a specific name, the *Pass from Cappadocia to Cilicia* will distinguish it from all the others. Respecting the site of this, there is a general agreement; modern travellers clearly identify the line of passage described by ancient writers; the line is long, and some travellers have marked the key of it on the northern face of the mountain, and others the principal defile in descending to the south,—but this causes no perplexity when the reason for this apparent discrepance is understood. Curtius, *Translation, vol.* i. *p.* 293, describes the last.

The intricate series of narrow defiles appears from Macdonald Kinneir's journal, in his *Asia Minor*, pp. 115...119, to be closely concatenated for about forty miles; and perhaps

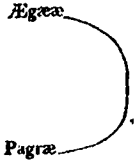
if the wider gorges are included, the ascent and descent will be prolonged to sixty British miles. A French MS. entitled *Des Mouceaux, Voy. fait en Asie vers l'an* 1660—of which an extract is printed in *Voyage de Le Bruyn*, edit. de Bannier, vol. V. p. 435—says: "Twenty paces from this defile, or "*Gate* as the Ancients called it, we find another, five hun- "dred paces in length, but less narrow than the first:" (meaning than the pass described by Xenophon, and by Curtius.) This, however, is nothing more than a dependent gorge in the same chain; and such connected avenues, however long and intricate the series, are mapped and named but as one streit.

II. The second pass in the line of Alexander's march, is described by no other ancient writer than Curtius, if we except a passage of Strabo, which appears to indicate its site, but which—unless Pococke, vol. ii. p. 174, may be thought to connect them—is not so applied by the commentators of either.—See *Translation, vol.* i. *p.* 304. In his travels through *Asia Minor*, Macdonald Kinneir however attests the existence of this pass, and apparently without being conscious of the striking agreement between his own description and that of the historian, since he does not apprise the reader of the marks of identity discoverable even at this day,—as the same eminent traveller has done in respect to the field of the celebrated battle of Arbela.

This pass is in the heart of Cilicia; and seems to divide its territory into two unequal districts, or perhaps the confined tract to the east and south of the iron gate, is *debatable ground*, which in different ages might be attributed now to Cilicia, and now to Syria; particularly when the two provinces were not under the same dominion, as the master of one was the stronger power. Kinneir, in the passage partly extracted in the note on Curtius, *Transl. p.* 293, thus proceeds: "The pass expanded immediately when we had quitted the "gate; and after a gentle descent of about a mile, we entered "a narrow belt, having the Gulf of Scanderoon close on our

" right-hand, and at the foot of the hills, near the shore, the " ruined town of AYASS." Curtius, in two places, calls this, the *pass of the Forest:* but a notice in Strabo, before alluded to, will go nigh to identify it with the *pass of Amanus.* After mentioning ÆGÆÆ, the modern Ayass, this ancient geographer says: " then," [proceeding north-westward, *i. e.* reversing the route of Kinneir] " come the *Amanides Pylæ,* or Gates " of Amanus, having a place fit for a harbour. At these " gates M. Amanus terminates; a mountain branching from " Taurus, and overhanging the eastern frontier of Cilicia."—p. 676. The Translator feels himself here compelled to mention—to prevent it from being supposed, that he has overlooked what Major Rennell has written upon the subject in his *Illustrations of the Retreat of the Ten Thousand*—that though he has derived from that great magazine of constructive geography much valuable information, assisting him to make some progress towards solving this problem; yet in reading the above passage from Strabo, as cited there, p. 39, in connection with another, it struck him that it was misapplied. The fallacy appears to have originated—in not perceiving that Strabo here describes the north-western extremity of M. Amanus: whereas in another place, p. 751, copying the note of some ancient traveller in an opposite direction, he sketches the south-western termination of that ridge.

Thus, if a semicircle represent Mount Amanus, Ægææ will be seated at the upper end of it, and Pagræ at the lower. From not attending to this, the two places are confounded in Major Rennell's treatise. This semicircle is broken into small sinuosities; and between that and the indented coast of the bay of Issus, are narrow plains and deep dells, forming the *debatable ground* mentioned above.



The *pass of the* FOREST, then, in Curtius, is possibly the same with the *Amanides Pylæ,* or *Pass of* SOUTH-WESTERN AMANUS, in Strabo. It is true that Curtius, in the place to

which this note refers, mentions the "pass of Amanus," in such a manner as would consist with their being distinct defiles, according to his distribution of the points. But it is common for the same pass to have several defiles, and hence several names. This collateral point, which, in the view of the Translator, is the only one of the dependent positions that retains a problematic character, will be discussed more particularly, when we come to the question, Whether there is a fourth pass?

III. 1. The third pass is that which leads from Cilicia into Syria, travelling south. This is the third pass in Major Rennell's hypothesis—but the third of a different series; for he entirely omits the second in Alexander's route, just described. Through the want of a due degree of reliance on Curtius, the constructive geographers from D'Anville to Rennell have missed a great deal; such omissions are positive deficiencies, which cause some excess or dislocation in other parts of the map.

Curtius simply mentions this pass, LEADING INTO SYRIA, without adding any description; possibly he found none in the original authors, but scattered notices of dependent parts too confused for a secondary historian to frame a description from them. The cause of this perplexity is two-fold. First, there was the grand pass, in its entire course a mountain pass, which led partly along a ridge at the southern extremity of Amanus, and partly through spurs from the same ridge, and defiles formed by the close approach of Pieria; a lofty mountain rising from the Syrian coast, and forming an angle with Amanus. Secondly, there now is—and some think, that, one-and-twenty centuries ago, there was—a way into Syria, nearly parallel with the grand pass, through the swampy plains and low hills between the ridge of Amanus and the sea. This will be more particularly described under III. 2. Now as Alexander did not go over the ground merely as a traveller, his movements have a complicated relation to both ways; for he occupied the mountain pass as a military

position, and the maritime slip of land as an encamping place; further he necessarily went and mastered some station on the coast, to have a secure point of communication with his fleet.

To return to the mountain pass. Strabo, p. 751, indicates its site—by a castle which commanded the first gorge coming from the south. He says: "Contiguous to Gindarus there "is in the territory of Antioch, a place called *Pagræ*, "strongly fortified, and situated upon the ascent of Mount "Amanus, leading from the Gates of Amanus into Syria." Pococke describes the entire chain of defiles, travelling in the same direction.—vol. ii. p. 174. With Bailan he identifies the "Pictanus" of the Jerusalem Itinerary, placed nine miles from Alexandria, and eight from Pangrios (*Pagræ*); distances which tally with the notices in Parsons and Kinneir. The name by which the pass is known to modern travellers, is taken from the village of Bailan; which stands between two of its four concatenated defiles—the first and second, counting from the south; the third and fourth, entering from Cilicia.—*Preface to the first Edition of this Translation, pp.* xl.... xlii. Abraham Parsons, who resided six years at Scanderoon, as British Consul and Factor Marine, has given apparently the most exact, certainly the most full description of this mountain pass, of any traveller. Macdonald Kinneir has sketched the same line of ascent and descent, about seventeen miles in all, ending where Strabo begins: "Here at the entrance into the gorges of the moun- "tains, I observed an ancient castle called Pagros, in excel- "lent preservation; it was a large and magnificent chateau." *Asia Minor*, p. 147. Thus the STREITS WHICH LEAD INTO SYRIA are clearly identified with Strabo's *Amanides Pylæ*, or GATES OF SOUTH-WESTERN AMANUS. This pass appears from the itinerary in Kinneir to be forty-eight or fifty miles from the PASS OF THE FOREST of Curtius, the interval being composed of the narrow slip of *debatable ground* above mentioned.

III. 2. We have now to consider the more circuitous road by the sea-coast into Syria. This is the SECOND PASS of

Major Rennell, *Illust. Retreat of the Ten Thousand*, p. 39, who treats it as a distinct and independent key of the territory, and names it the *maritime pass*. But the Translator of Curtius, though he has separated the notices relating to it, cannot but consider this and the mountain-pass into Syria, just described, as one in a military point of view; for the occupier of the heights at each extremity of the line must command the road at their base. However, we learn from Xenophon, *Exped. Cyri, lib.* II. cap. iv. that *in his time*, there were ramparts running down from the mountain to the sea, obstructing the maritime road. This would prevent an enemy from evading a garrison strong enough to keep the mountain-pass, but not competent to take the field. He informs us, that "the Gates of Syria were five parasangs "(about seventeen miles) from Issus. These were guarded "by two fortresses; the one, which stood the highest, "faced Cilicia; the other, seated lower down, was next to "Syria. Between these two fortresses ran a river, called "Kersus, one hundred feet in breadth. The interval be-"tween the walls was three stadia; [a little less than the "length of the most difficult defile, which "they would thus intersect*;] through "which it was not possible to force a way; "the pass being narrow, the fortified walls "reaching down to the sea, and above were "inaccessible rocks. Within these walls "stood the pass." Major Rennel, pp. 52, 53, would identify the Kersus of Xenophon, with the Mahersy of Pococke: but that they cannot possibly be the same is evident from Pococke's description of the ground, vol. II. p. 176. Capt. Kinneir thinks the Kersus may be the river of Bylan; to support which many indications combine.

* "After leaving Bylan commences the fourth and last pass, for distinction termed the grand pass into Syria. The road continues ten or fifteen feet wide for half a mile."—*Parsons*. [Coming from Pagræ in the opposite direction] "We went by a terrace on the side of the hill, and saw great ruins of thick walls on each side of the road, which might be a tower, or gateway; and approaching near Baylan, we went through a pass cut in the rock."—*Pococke*.

Between the eras of Cyrus and Alexander, the fortresses mentioned by Xenophon appear to have fallen into decay; for

neither Curtius nor Arrian mention that any wall, or artificial gate, impeded Alexander at the Syrian defile. And perhaps it was to supply this deficiency, though on a different site, that Alexander, after the battle of Issus, built a fortress near the entrance of the pass into Syria; as tradition relates.

To apply these points to the movements of Alexander. Arrian informs us, lib. II. cap. vi. that this Prince, having passed the *Persian* [*Syrian*] streits, the day after encamped before the city Myriandros. The narrative of Curtius, at the corresponding point of time, (*Translation*, vol. i. p. 310,) is brief to a defect; for it only implies that Alexander, after entering Syria by the streit, had descended to the coast: "He therefore despatched a small reconnoitring party coast-"wise." The position of Myriandros in Kinneir's Map, seems more capable of being reconciled with all the ancient notices than that assigned by Major Rennell, and in a still superior degree than that assigned by M. Barbié du Bocage. Xenophon says that Myriandros was five parasangs from the Syrian streits; which is about the distance from Bylan to the coast in a westward direction. To understand Cyrus as approaching it by the mountain-pass, and not by the swampy plain which was blocked up, confirms the position in Kinneir's Map, and removes the insuperable difficulty of measuring the distance in a strait line southward, *after entering Syria*, instead of going off at an angle to the coast.

To apply this to the return of Alexander from the coast. Arrian says, lib. II. cap. viii. that "Alexander, having de-"spatched some of his horse and archers forward, to clear "the road to the *streits, through which he was obliged to* "*pass*,—on the following night he moved, to occupy them "again with his whole army*. When this "had been also accomplished, about mid-"night he ordered his men to repose till "morning, having appointed a strict guard "wherever it seemed necessary. As soon as the dawn "appeared, he began to descend from the hills, [i. e. from

* This does not imply that he had not kept possession of the streits, all the time, by a detachment.

" the northern declivity of the pass, which is less steep than " the southern,] having streitened his front by reason of the " narrowness of the pass." [i. e. of the last defile.] Sufficiently in agreement with the above, Curtius says: " At the " rising dawn, they had gained the streits which their leader " destined them to occupy." . . . . . " The army marched " thirty-two in a file, while the confined gorge of the streits " would not admit a wider column." — *Transl. vol.* i. *pp.* 312, 316.

This explains, too, why Alexander sent a trireme to reconnoitre the Persian army at Issus; for if there had been an easy communication by the low ledges of plain, a party could have gone quicker by land. From this it may be inferred, that Alexander's previous movements had led him to the coast intermediately by the mountain-pass, and not at once by the low maritime road. Major Rennell notices, p. 40, that Strabo appears to have known nothing of a maritime pass. Indeed not one of the Ancients has described, or even recognised the existence of a *thoroughfare* by the sea-coast from Alexandretta into Syria, in its entire length detached from, and unconnected with, the grand mountain-pass of SOUTH-WESTERN AMANUS. The following notice in Pliny, some may think, presents the appearance in part of such a road: but it does not carry the traveller *through*, by the low shelf of plain, to Alexandretta: far from it. " Seated on the " promontory is the free city Seleucia, named also Pieria. " Above Seleucia," [*i. e.* farther from the coast,] " is seen " another mountain named Casius. . . . . Through the " neighbouring territory flows the river Orontes. . . . . Then " [after Seleucia] the town *Rhossus* occurs; and *at the back of* " *it lie the narrow gorges,* BETWEEN *the ridges of the Rhossians* " *and* [a branch from] *Taurus, which are called* PORTÆ " SYRIÆ. On the bordering coast and territory stands the " town Myriandros: and, nigh it, the ridge of Amanus, on " which is the town Bomilæ; which point separates Cilicia " from the Syrians."—PLIN. *lib.* V. *cap.* xviii.

In the first place: the Translator doubts, whether the local pass of Mount Rhossus, over which in 1638 Pococke climbed, with the help of two guides, is intended here at all; for, 1. The site "BETWEEN the ridges of "the Rhossians and a branch from Taurus," would correspond better with the position of the grand mountain-pass above described under III. 1. as the Gate of Cilicia and Syria. 2. As Myriandros was always included in Syria, a pass SOUTH of it could hardly be called *Portæ Syriæ*. 3. As Pliny nowhere describes the *Pylæ Syriæ*, it is likely that his *Portæ Syriæ* were the same as the *Pylæ* of other writers.

In the second place: the occurrence of *Amanus, and the town Bomilæ*, immediately in connection with *Myriandros*, looks as if there were then no communication with Cilicia by a road close to the sea-shore; but rather as if the triangular plain, on the base of which stood Myriandros, terminated in an impervious angle to the north. The town Bomilæ appears to be the same with the "Pictanus" and "Bailan" of different ages. The communication between Myriandros and Bomilæ might have been through an opening in the west side of Amanus, leaving an access to the grand Cilician and Syrian road north and south. Both Cyrus and Alexander seem to have gone through the mountain-pass to reach the then port of Syria Proper.—At the same time, the inhabitants of Myriandros might have used for local purposes the road over Rhossus in communicating with the coast of Phœnicia to the south. On the north, however, the silence of ancient authors respecting any way to Cilicia between Amanus and the sea, seems to lead to one of these inferences: either that twenty centuries ago, the shelf of lowland near Alexandria—which all modern travellers agree in attributing to alluvial deposits by the rivers and sea, of which great portions are demonstrably of recent formation —was not then everywhere wide enough, and thrown sufficiently level, to afford a continuous road at the base of the mountain; or that if its breadth at all approached that of the swampy plain of modern times, it was then, as now, too sel-

dom passable to be regarded as a commercial or military road.

From modern travels, the road from Alexandretta directly by the coast, appears to be scarcely practicable even as a local thoroughfare, but for a month or two at the end of a dry summer: and then the traveller has at last to make his egress into Syria over hills, and through chasms in ridges of increasing elevation; as the following extract from Pococke will show:

"We set out from Scanderoon to the southwards, 27th "Sept. 1738; passed by Scanderbeg's Castle, and went "near the sea-shore to the river of Baylan, which is about "three miles from Scanderoon. I saw some walls near it, "and a ruin of ancient brick, in which the mortar was laid "very thick; it had something of the appearance of a bagnio. "We went on by the sea-shore, and in about three hours "from Scanderoon came to a stream called Shengan, and "soon after to some high ground near the sea, and to another "stream called Agalicpour. We went over the hills into a "plain, and in half an hour came to a rivulet called Farstalic, "where the Aga was, whom we overtook in our return from "Baias to Scanderoon; and afterwards we met some of his "men driving off the people's cattle." Dr. Pococke met two or three other parties of these men, one of which plundered him of all his provisions, and another robbed him of some trifling article. "In order to avoid meeting any more "of them, we went along the sea-shore in a very bad road. "Having travelled about an hour, we turned to the east, and "then crossed a rivulet to the south called Dulgehan, and "reposed in a fine lawn, encompassed with plane trees and "large alders.

"Ptolemy makes the latitude of Myriandros to be twenty "minutes south of Alexandria; and I conjecture that this "place might have been on the river Dulgehan. Strabo "mentions it as one of the places on the bay of Issus; and "Ptolemy puts it ten minutes north of Rhossus, with which "this site agrees very well; but it is not above twenty miles

" from Scanderoon." " To the south of this place indeed " there are two or three rivulets, on one of which Myriandros " might be situated. The large plain of Arsous begins a " league further to the south; it is about three miles wide, " and ten long, extending to Jebel Totosè, the ancient mount " Rhossus; of which Arsous, the name of the plain, may be " a corruption."

" North of that plain, and to the west of the supposed " Myriandros, there are some low hills, which run north and " south, on which Alexander's army might be encamped near " Myriandros."

" In three quarters of an hour [from the plain of " Arsous] we crossed a stream, and in half an hour " more a second; and about half a league from it came to " a village of Turcomen, in the middle of a fine planta- " tion of mulberry and fig trees; the vines being planted " so as to twine about the latter. The people led us to " their village."

" I saw here several broken pillars, especially about the " Turkish burial place. On the twenty-eighth we went on, " passed a rivulet called Boilu, and in an hour came to " Alhope, an Arab village; there are many winter torrents " about this place, that spread over the plain. In an hour " we came to some HILLS that stretch westward from the " mountains, and arrived at a village on the foot of them, " where the people were afraid of us, but sent a man to show " us the way. Having passed these hills, we ASCENDED " OTHERS to some huts that belonged to a village called " Eimerakesy." " Here I hired two men to go with me over " MOUNT RHOSSUS, now called Totosè. We went to a " village very pleasantly situated, the hills encompassing a " vale below, which forms a sort of amphitheatre, and pro- " duces plenty of fruit, as oranges, lemons, peaches, and " pomegranates. We had also from this place a fine pros- " pect—of the sea; of Aias-kala on the point of Mallo, of " the bay of Tarsus, and Mount Taurus."

"On the twenty-ninth we ASCENDED an hour through "woods of pine trees to a spring of water; and afterwards "as much further, by a very steep ascent, to the HIGHEST "PART OF THE HILL which we were to pass, the mountains "being much higher to the west. We saw a deep valley "below, and travelling on upon the mountains, we came to a "fine green spot, where I saw laurel and yew;" "there "were also box trees and horn-bean on this mountain, in "great abundance. We at length descended into another "valley to the south, which seemed to divide the mountain; "we went in it about two hours, and came to a large rivulet "called the Otterjoye. We went an hour further in this "valley; and ASCENDING, in three quarters of an hour we "passed by two or three houses, where the people would not "receive strangers; so we went an hour further, crossing to "the other side of the vale, and came to a few houses, where "we lay on the top of one of them; the houses are low, and "usually built against the side of a hill, to save the expense "of a wall. On the thirtieth, I saw to the west ruins of a "thick wall, and of some houses. We travelled three hours "in a very bad road, and coming to the south side of the "mountain, passed by a ruined church called Motias, and "soon after saw to the left the first of the three Armenian "villages in this country, which is called Alchaphah." "In "another hour we arrived at the second Armenian village "called Ionelac; these villages have each of them a church, "and are governed by Christians, called Caias or Deputies, "appointed by the Turkish Governors."

"Travelling still on the side of the hills, we went westward, "crossing several deep beds of mountain torrents, with steep "hills on each side; and ascending a hill a little to the north-"west, came to the third Armenian village called Kepsè," the site of the ancient Seleucia.—*Description of the East, by R. Pococke, LL. D. & F. R. S. London*, 1745, pp. 179..182.

Although it is thus distinctly made out, that there is a circuitous way into Phœnician Syria, going clear west of the

pass through Southern Amanus,—it is apparently not practicable for a caravan, nor in every stage a carriage road.

Alexander Drummond, King's Consul at Aleppo, in a letter dated 1745, March 4, says: "At a little distance," [about a mile SW. from Alexandretta,] "is a square castle, "said to be built by Scanderbeg: neither man nor horse can "approach it, until the summer hath dried up the bogs."—DRUMMOND'S *Travels in Syria*, p. 124.

The same traveller gives at the end of his work the following:

Route from ALEXANDRETTA *to* ARSOUS.

1749.	hrs.	min.
To a river that comes from Jacob's Well and other springs, called Hoggi Soo	0	25
To another from the mountains, called Bylan Chaai	2	15
To another which falls into a large bay	1	55
To the great river Gourgiana	0	15
To RUINS far in the sea [This may possibly be the site of Myriandros.—*Translator of Curtius.*]	0	10
To Coulgihan point	0	15
To a RUIN of a square building	0	5
To a rivulet	0	15
To another rivulet	0	45
To another	0	5
To the great river at Arsous	0	25
	6	50

[Performed by a] light horse, at about four miles an hour, is about twenty-seven miles.—DRUMMOND'S *Travels* p. 292.

The same author nowhere tells us that he at any time personally passed directly from Arsous to Seleucia, or the reverse: but in a letter dated Alexandretta, 1748, Dec. 27, he gives us the piece of detached information. "I have "nothing else to say about the once famous Seleucia, but, "that there is from the city a SUBTERRANEAN PASSAGE "quite through the mountain, by which the inhabitants, "doubtless, gave or received intelligence when they were in- "vested by an enemy."—DRUMMOND'S *Travels*, p. 226.

"The marshes extend on all sides of Scanderoon; more "however to the west than to the eastward. And though "the marshes are said to increase as the sea retires from the "shore, there are sufficient proofs extant of the lowlands "between the sea and the mountains, having been always "crossed by sheets of nearly impassable marsh."—WALPOLE'S *Travels to various Countries of the East, p.* 351.

When Parsons lived at Scanderoon, the maritime road had grown into absolute desuetude; hence he says: "These "passes" (meaning the streit of Bylan) "afford the only way "by land through Syria into Asia Minor."—p. 23.

IV. The only point relating to the Cilician passes that remains a problem, may be thus stated. Is there a collateral pass from Commagena to Cilicia, answering to our author's STREITS OF AMANUS, and to Strabo's *Pylæ Amanicæ;* and is this distinct from our author's PASS OF THE FOREST? *i. e.* is there a counter opening in Amanus, leading eastward from the *pass of the forest,* and connected with a line of defiles communicating with the plain of Sochos?

Almost all the classical commentators, enquiring travellers, and constructive geographers agree to look for the pass by which Darius entered Cilicia somewhere in mount Amanus to the north of the pass of Bailan. The two exceptions which occur to the recollection of the Translator are rather extraordinary. Parsons thought that Darius came and retreated by the pass of Bailan: this is the more inconsistent, as he was not aware of there being a maritime pass for the separate use of Alexander. Posting Alexander in the latter, while Darius advanced by the former, is indeed the hypothesis of Macdonald Kinneir; in talents and advantages incomparably superior to Parsons; and inferior to none of the writers who have speculated on the subject, in acquaintance with the historians of Alexander; and, above all, master of much local information, acquired by traversing some of the principal stages in Alexander's line of march. His opinion,

nevertheless, seems not on this point to rest on a tenable foundation; and the Translator of Curtius has all along exercised the privilege, in quoting from the best informed travellers, of gratefully accepting their additions to the stock of topographical knowledge, and of adopting or rejecting the branches of mere hypothesis erected upon the points surveyed, as they appear satisfactory or otherwise.

1. Alexander would have committed a great military blunder, if, when he encamped on the slip of shelving territory below, he had left the mountain-pass open to Darius.

2. It is not easily conceivable that the two armies could have passed each other unperceived, moving transversely on parallel lines so close together, even by night, when the number of fires blazing in a Persian army are considered.

3. To judge of the direction in which Darius moved from the plain of Sochos, we must advert not to the place where the invader actually was, but to that where Darius expected to find him. Alexander had given out, that he would wait at the *pass of the forest* for Darius. Now, from Sochos to Ægææ the line from east to west is one side of a triangle; but from Sochos to Pagræ, and then through the Syrian streit to Ægææ, is two sides of a triangle; and for part of the distance a winding rugged road, difficult for carriages.

Differing reluctantly from Kinneir, the Translator is happy to adopt most of what Major Rennell advances upon the subject. "The FOURTH and last pass to be considered is "the upper or northern pass of Amanus. This leads partly "over and partly through the chain of Amanus, a little to the "*southward* of Issus;" [whether to the *southward* of Issus? or *northward* of it, nearly in the same latitude with Ægææ? remains to be determined,] "and apparently opens into the "valley by which the river Pinarus descends. This and "the foregoing pass should be the two passes through "Amanus mentioned by Cicero; and the UPPER ONE IS

"THAT BY WHICH DARIUS CAME TO ISSUS, while Alex-
"ander lay behind" [rather in advance of] "him at Myrian-
"drus. It appears to have been unknown to Strabo;" [This is a mistake occasioned by the misappropriation of the passage from Strabo, mentioned under II. above,] "although "no clear conception of the movements of Alexander and "Darius could take place without supposing the existence of "such a pass." Major Rennell subjoins this note on his own text. "The author possesses no means of fixing the "precise situation of this pass: but in point of parallel, it "must lie between the *maritime streit** "and Issus;" [possibly it may lie more northward;] "because Darius, who pass-"ed through it on his way from Syria "[Euphratensis] to Issus, avoided the "maritime pass [Syrian Gates]; and also appears to have "fled through it by *way of the valley that opened into the field "of battle.*" [This last is quite gratuitous.] "And more-"over because Cicero, when he took a position for covering "Cilicia from the threatened attack of the Parthians, FROM "SYRIA, THROUGH BOTH OF THE PASSES OF AMANUS, "formed his camp a little to the northward of Issus." [And therefore supposing his position to be equidistant from both passes, we should look still farther northward for the upper.]

* The Translator cannot adopt this term, unless applied to the mountain pass, from its being near a harbour; as Strabo indeed applies it.

"Dr. Patrick Russell had occasion to know personally, "that there was a direct communication between Killis and "Ayasse, by a narrow and difficult passage through Amanus: "and Doctor Pococke says: 'on the south side of Bayas, "there is a mountain torrent, which comes from the opening, "by which there is an ascent to the Gates of Amanus.' "Here it is proper to remark, that Dr. Pococke took Bayas "for Issus."—*Illustrations of the Expedition of Cyrus and the Retreat of the Ten Thousand.* By JAMES RENNELL. F. R. S. London. 4to. 1816, p. 42.

The Translator will now subjoin some reasons, deduced from the narratives of Curtius and Arrian, for thinking that the eastern pass of Upper Amanus lay north of Issus.

" Parmenio detached a body of horse to pursue the fugi-
" tives; for it happened, that they had all urged their course
" by his wing."—CURTIUS, *Transl.* vol. i. p. 324.

Now, Parmenio commanded the left wing, which extended to the sea; and the flying enemy inclined toward his wing—not to force a passage through it, or between that and the sea; but because the narrow belt of land between Issus and Ægææ curved to the left, in the direction of the coast, forming a quarter of a circle; consequently the fugitives had to pass along the front of Parmenio's wing, going north-west.

" As soon as Darius perceived his left wing broken by
" Alexander, and that part of his army dispersed and put to
" flight, he immediately drove out of the battle, and escaped
" in a chariot with some of his nobles: and so far as the
" country was plain and open, his chariot conveyed him away
" with ease and safety: but when the roads began to be
" mountainous, he quitted it, and—having left therein his
" shield, his mantle, and his bow—continued his flight on
" horseback," &c.—ARRIAN, *lib.* II. *cap.* xi.

In the narrow tract between Issus and Ægææ, there is a sufficient length of open country, and there only in the neighbourhood of the field of battle, to answer this description: and the flight of Darius must be extended in this direction, to find a line of retreat, to fill up the time till dark, before he met with a defile or mountain, and to correspond with the long pursuit which both Curtius and Arrian relate Alexander to have maintained. This way he might have from twelve to six-and-twenty miles of good road for a chariot, according to the situation of the pass by which he ultimately escaped to the eastward.

Many causes contribute to render it difficult to illustrate the road by which Darius retreated from Cilicia to Comma-

gena, or Euphratensis, by any modern route. The once fertile Mesopotamia* has become a desart; and the lawless Curds have extended themselves to the mountains between Commagena and Cilicia; and either circumstance is enough to bring into desuetude a communication by a chain of defiles in that direction.

* The fertile part of Mesopotamia, which is now the Great Desart, was anciently called "Syria of the Rivers;" the part below the Chaboras was always barren, and was included in Arabia.

In the year 1797, the celebrated W. G. Browne travelled by an unusual route on his journey from Aleppo to Constantinople, passing through AINTAB, Kaisaria, and Angora,—in place of going by the more direct road, which lies by BAILAN and Adene, Kenia, Kutachia, and Bursa. But as this deviation was caused by Kutchuk Ali, the Pasha of Bailan, being in a state of rebellion; so the same circumstance would prevent the traveller from touching that pasha's territory, or from adventuring into Cilicia at all. Added to which, it appears from the Itinerary of Mr. M. Bruce, who in 1812, travelled the same route as Mr. Browne had done in 1797,—that when caravans going from Aleppo to Constantinople get so much to the north and east of Bailan as the position of Aintab, from any cause, it becomes their nearest or most commodious way to cross Taurus at a point between two and three degrees east of the pass by which Alexander entered Cilicia from Cappadocia.

However, an extract from the Itinerary of Mr. M. Bruce will throw some light upon the place where Darius had his camp; and upon the nature of the country by which he advanced and retreated. At the same time, as Mr. Bruce's route is NNW. while that of Darius would lie nearly west and east, we must soon break off the doubtful line of comparison; nor can we assume that the two routes for any distance coincided, though they probably intersected the same point at AINTAB, which the Translator identifies with the UNCHAS of Curtius, at a later period called Deba. The notes are by the Author of the Itinerary.

"1812, May 21st.—Ten hours over an immense plain*. "The caravan halted near a fountain where "there was abundance of grass for the "horses."

"* The plain of Sochos, where Darius encamped before the battle of Issus."

"22d.—Eight hours. The road sometimes good, and at "others stony. The tents were pitched near a fountain of "excellent water two hours from Aentab†. "The direction still towards the north. "Quitted the caravan, and visited Aentab, "which is situated in a small plain surrounded with hills. "In the middle of the town is a castle resembling that of "Aleppo, but not so large. The frequent earthquakes and "civil wars to which this place has been subject have nearly "ruined the town and shaken the walls of all the houses. "The population is supposed to amount to twenty thousand "souls, of which a great part are Armenians, who have a "large church. The town is governed by a Mutesellim "subject to the pasha of Maden."

"† The ancient Deba, a town in Euphratensis."

"24th.—We marched eight hours to-day. The road for the "first two hours was uneven; on both sides were small cultivated plains under ranges of mountains‡. "We afterwards past other plains, and the "mountains became more elevated. This district is dependent on the pashalic of Marash§. It "contains seven villages of Koords, celebrated for their depredations. Our caravan put itself under the safeguard of these people in order "to pass their territories, but they exacted a larger sum than "we had agreed to give them by frequently stopping and "spreading a carpet on the road to collect contributions. "The roads were bad, and lay through the middle of a "FOREST; passed a defile in the mountains‖ covered with large trees, and after "having quitted it, stopped in a valley at the foot of a "high mountain belonging to the ridge of Kanler Dag."—KINNEIR'S *Asia Minor*, p. 559.

"‡ Mount Amanus."

"§ The ancient Germanica, a city in Cilicia Campestris."

"‖ Mount Amanus."

From this description we may collect some ideas which—associated with the names given by Curtius and Strabo to the second pass of our series—will explain and reconcile those names; for the defile in the middle of Cilicia, which Curtius calls the PASS OF THE FOREST, and Strabo the PASS OF AMANUS, appears to have a collateral relation with a series of defiles in two competing ridges of Amanus, branching like the head of a ϒ, connected with Taurus on the north-west and north-east, and leading through the glades of an extensive forest.

And then several passages in Arrian, relating to streits not clearly appropriated, will fall into an intelligible position, in this line of defiles; particularly the "streits which divide "Cilicia from *Assyria*." While the latter term was supposed to relate to the *Syrian streits* at the other end of Amanus, the name was justly deemed absurd: but the dependencies of Cilicia which Mr. M. Bruce crossed, reaching almost to the Euphrates, appear to vindicate it.

"Parmenio was despatched to seize the streits which "divide Cilicia from Assyria, and to keep possession there-"of."—ARRIAN, lib. II. cap. v.

"Afterwards, with three companies of Macedonian foot, and "all his archers and Agrians, Alexander in person encounter-"ing the Cilicians, who had seized the passes through the "mountains, in the space of seven days, partly by force, and "partly by composition, he reduced them all to his obedi-"ence, and then returned to Soli."—*Ibid.*

"While Alexander continued at Mallos, news was brought "him that Darius, with his whole army, lay encamped at "Sochos, a place in Assyria, about two days' journey "(*stathmes*) from the streits before-mentioned.—ARRIAN, *lib.* II. cap. vi.

Dr. Russell's notice of a direct communication between Killis and Ayass, by a narrow and difficult passage through Amanus, already cited after Major Rennell, deserves to be again mentioned in the absence of more precise information;

as leading to the parallel and vicinity in which the fourth, as a collateral pass to the second, is to be looked for. In Niebuhr's Map, Killis is about thirty miles west of Aentab, nearly on the same parallel.

The Bayas of Pococke is but sixteen miles north of Scanderoon. The mountain torrent on the south side of it, comes *from* the opening by which there is an ascent to the Gates of Amanus. The torrent is not to be confounded with the opening; but probably runs transverse to it, like the river of Bailan, in respect to that pass.

The following passage is from Drummond. Though that traveller has adopted from Rollin a capital mistake in regard to the position of Myriandros, placing it north, instead of south of Alexandria; yet what he says on this independent point is not at all affected by that error. On the contrary, as he personally visited Aentab twice, he may be considered to speak from some local information acquired from the natives.

"Darius in the meantime went from Sochos .... through "the pass of Amanus; which, according to Rollin, lies far "above the passes of Syria; so that there must be more than "one; and this of Amanus was where the mountain almost "joins Taurus, not far from Aintab; by which he would "naturally come as he crossed the Euphrates from Mesopo-"tamia: and thence he bent his way towards Issus."—DRUMMOND'S *Travels*, p. 245.

V. The last thing to be assigned is the site of the battle. M. Barbié du Bocage has remarked, that D'Anville has committed an error in placing the town of Issus at the modern Ayass; because Ayass represents the ancient Ægææ in Cilicia.—*Examen Critique des Hist. d'Alexand.* p. 805. Capt. Kinneir, one of the most eminent of recent travellers—having compared, on the spot, a section of plain between the mountains and the sea, about four miles north of Scanderoon, with the descriptions left by Arrian, by Plutarch, and by Callisthenes, of the field of battle—assigns satisfactory reasons for thinking that this narrow, curving, and uneven field

was the scene of the celebrated conflict. The breadth, somewhat less than two miles, strikingly coincides with the "four-"teen stadia," assigned by Callisthenesas the breadth of the position occupied by Darius. Capt. Kinneir identifies Issus the modern stage-town Pias, about sixteen miles north of Scanderoon.—*Journey through Asia Minor*, pp. 135 . . . 144.

There is one difficulty in making the modern Pias the site of Issus. Xenophon says, that from Issus to the streits of Syria was five parasangs. The modern farsang is 3½ miles; that the ancient measure was shorter has never been proved; I shall therefore take them with Kinneir as equivalent, and the five parasangs as seventeen miles and a half. Now, Scanderoon is sixteen miles from Pias, and Bylan nine miles from Scanderoon; leaving an excess above Xenophon's reported distance between Issus and the Syrian pass, of seven miles and a half.

To remove this difficulty, two or three alternatives may be proposed. The first is, to take another spot for the site of Issus nearer to Scanderoon. Kinneir says: "At the ninth "mile [from Pias, seven from Scanderoon] are the ruins of "a castle, romantically situated at the foot of the mountains "which here approximate the sea, and near it on a projecting "point of land, the remains of a sort of obelisk, apparently "ancient."—*Journey*, p. 138. This would leave sixteen or seventeen miles to Bylan, in agreement with Xenophon's distance; but perhaps it would disturb the nice reconciliation with all the ancient Itineraries, in regard to other stages on the line, north and east of Issus, which subsists by placing it at Pias.

The second alternative is, to trace the river of Bylan from that town to the place where it falls into the sea; and to consider the long range of fortified walls, which Xenophon says enclosed the river Kersus, as presenting a latitude for giving the measured distance differently, according to the point at which they were passed. Now, the river of Bylan inclines so far to the north of west, that its mouth is but three miles from

Scanderoon, while that part of its stream which intersects Bylan is nine or ten. Possibly the Cilician castle attached to the pass was on the height of Bylan, commanding the north-west wall; while the Syrian castle was either on an intermediate hill, or down on the plain commanding both the south-west wall, and the approach from the sea: this arrangement would admit of two artificial gates; which, when Cilicia and Syria belonged to the same power, or to separate governments at peace, might be opened under a guard, for the mutual accommodation of both provinces; and the lower gate might have only a local relation with Myriandros.

Recapitulation.

Of the several Cilician passes in our series, the positions of three are fixed. 1. The pass from Cappadocia into Cilicia. 2. The pass in the heart of Cilicia, which Curtius calls the *pass of the forest*. 3. The mountain-pass from Cilicia into Syria on the south. The precise situation of the fourth pass still remains a problem: but probable grounds have been assigned for concluding, that Darius came and retreated by a FOURTH pass, having a collateral relation with the second of our series, and presenting a nearer road from the ancient Ægæ to the northern division of Mesopotamia, in that age a fertile territory, than the third pass in our series; which, at the present day, is the great *thoroughfare* from Cilicia to Syria.

The most probable site for the field of battle appears to the Translator to have been assigned by Kinneir—about four miles north of Scanderoon.

[K]. *On the Construction of the ancient Galleys.*

P. 365.—"Alexander manœuvred in the royal quinque-"reme."]—The *triremes*, *quadriremes*, and *quinqueremes*, of the ancients, were so denominated, according to one hypo-

thesis, from the *number* of the *tiers of oars* on each side the vessel. It is a desideratum in antiquarian science to determine the mode of arranging these ranks of oars, as well as to ascertain the position of the rowers. Many inquirers into the history of naval architecture accept as highly probable the following ingenious conjecture of Lieutenant-general Melvill: The waist part of the ancient galleys, at the distance of a few feet above the water's edge, rose obliquely, in an angle of 45 deg. or near it; upon the inner sides of this waist part, the seats of the rowers, each about two feet in length, were fixed, horizontally, in rows, with no more space between each seat in the same range, and between the seats below or above, than should be necessary for the free movements of the rowers working together,—they would therefore sit in the quincunx or chequer order. In 1773, General Melvill caused the fifth part of the waist of a quinquereme to be erected in the back-yard of his house in Great Pultney-street. This model contained, with sufficient ease, in a small space, thirty rowers, in five abridged tiers, of six men in each, making one-fifth part of the complement of rowers on each side of a quinquereme, according to Polybius, who assigns to such a galley three hundred rowers, besides one hundred and twenty fighting men. The General's explanation is countenanced in its leading feature, by ancient monuments. On several pieces of sculpture, particularly at Rome, he found the figures of war-galleys, with oars represented as coming down from ruddock-holes, disposed chequerwise. In the Capo di Monte palace, is a Medaglione of Gordianus, of which the reverse has a trireme with oars so disposed. The collection at Portici contains ancient paintings of galleys, which, by being represented foreshortened, with the stern towards the spectator, show the obliquity of the sides, and the rows of oars reaching to the water.

The galleys had grappling-irons on the prows, which, when contending galleys ran on board, kept them from separating.

Mr. Charnock has not, in the *History of Marine Architecture*, noticed this model, constructed by General Melvill, with seats and ports in the chequer order; it is evident, from incidental remarks, that he was not satisfied with theories founded on that principle. A CONJECTURAL explanation, in all its parts intelligible, and applicable to galleys of different rates, is, however, the utmost now to be expected; because Zozimus, who flourished under the younger Theodosius, testifies, that, in his time, triremes, although commemorated by Polybius, had been so long disused, that the mode of constructing them was unknown. The following theories are derived from the *History of Marine Architecture:* not one, perhaps, furnishes a solution, yet all may contribute materials for one. The passages within crotchets are thoughts which occurred to the Translator of Curtius, while endeavouring to understand the subject.

Mr. Charnock gives the first place to the opinion of M. L'Escalier.

All agree to explode the notion, that a vessel with eight tiers, each extending the entire length of the side, or with more than three tiers so extending, could be worked: because, in modern galleys, which have only one tier, and equal in length a ship of sixty-four guns, the oars, though the row-lock is as near the water as possible, are forty-four feet long.

First Objection to a disposition of the seats chequerwise:—If oars in two parallel tiers be placed as near as might consist with space to work them, it is impossible to gain room for an intermediate space by the chequer order; consequently nothing is gained by this pretended discovery.

[*Answer.* If the number of oars could not be increased, the total impelling power might, because those of the interposed ports would be larger; and by a scientific distribution, throughout the side of the ship, of oars gradually rising in magnitude and station, the motion of the floating body might be rendered altogether equable.]

Second Objection;—A chequered distribution of the stages is incompatible with the strength of the vessel, and with the necessary communication through the departments of the hull.

[*Answer.* The middle of the hold would be free; at the end of the higher seats for the rowers might be short perpendicular ladders.]

M. L'Escalier then notices the opinion, that Biremes were galleys in which two men were employed at each oar, and that in the same manner up to Octoremes, the ordinal number of the vessel's name indicated the number of rowers to each port. In opposition to this, he states that the galleasses formerly used by the Venetians, though in size much inferior to first-rate galleys of the ancients, required nine men to work each oar. He adds, a stronger refutation, that the words *Remorum ordines et remigum gradus* can bear no allusion to the number of rowers.

He then unfolds his own attempt to remove the perplexity.

The Uniremes had only one row of oars, extending between their masts, or extending perhaps the entire length of the vessel, like the modern feluccas of Barbary.

The Biremes had a tier between the masts, and a tier abaft the mainmast. [*Stricture.* This can be counted only as one tier, unless the second, without ranging over the first, were more elevated in the side of the ship, and had oars of a larger size. *Remorum* ORDINES, *et remigum* GRADUS,—the objects marked, as ancient writers attest, by the numerical distinction in galleys,—may fitly be interpreted the RATES *of the oars,* and the STATIONS *of the rowers.* As expressions applied technically have a more extensive meaning, than in common acceptation, I use the latter term for "DEGREES of Elevation in the stations of the rowers, as "they would ascend to the different decks by step-ladders."]

The Triremes had a tier before the front mast, a second between the masts, and a third abaft the mainmast. [*Stricture*

The difference between a Trireme and an Unireme is thus nominal, unless a difference is created by pursuing the principle suggested already.]

The Quadriremes had a tier a-head of the foremast, a tier between the masts, and two tiers abaft the main-mast. [*Stricture.* To place the greater portion of impelling power at the stern, is not countenanced by practice, experience, or rational theory: the double tier of rowers, if removed to the head, would not interfere with the soldiers on the platform above.]

The Quinqueremes had a tier between the masts, two tiers a-head, and two a-stern. [*Stricture.* Nominally, five tiers; merely a shorter, and a longer tier, unless the ports have five different elevations.]

The Octoremes had two tiers in the midship, three at the stem, and three at the stern. [*Stricture.* Nominally, eight tiers, if they range in three coincident lines.]

Mr. Charnock pronounces M. L'Escalier's account to be ingenious, although far from satisfactory. He affirms, however, that were we to frame, from the best remnants of antiquity, a description of the Trireme, the table of dimensions would be ridiculous:—Thus, the perpendicular height—measured at the midship—from the upper edge of the side to the bottom of the keel, was only six feet three inches; the length from the cutwater to the stern, confined to the keel, fifty-seven feet;—including the rakes, sixty-five feet: the extreme breadth nine feet. [*Stricture.* This table is inconsistent with almost every modern theory of the Grecian Trireme:—but which is ridiculous?]

The account by Athenæus of Ptolemy Philopater's vessel, Mr. Charnock styles incredible. It had forty ranks [rates or classes] of oars: was four hundred and twenty feet long; fifty-seven feet in its greatest breadth; seventy feet in height from the tafferel to the keel. Its four rudders, or steering oars, were forty-four feet long; the largest of the impelling oars fifty-seven feet long. The crew consisted of four

thousand rowers, and three hundred—other accounts state three thousand—sailors.

Assume, Mr. Charnock proceeds to this effect, that the part of the vessel above the upper row-ports, and the part immersed in water, to amount together to thirty-six feet,—the upper row-ports will then be that distance from the water. Assume that forty tiers of oars, within this space, are disposed above each other; this gives about eleven inches for each tier,—a final refutation of the notion that multiple tiers were extended along the sides, answering in number to the class of the vessel. But the upper row-ports must have been much nearer the water than thirty-six feet, or an oar fifty-seven feet long could work with no effect. To render the upper oars availing, some have conjectured, that they moved with a rotatory motion perpendicular to the vessel's side:—Mr. Charnock objects, that an invention is thus gratuitously ascribed to the ancients, of which we do not know the principle. [*Stricture.* He has not stated the absurdity, that it is inconsistent with the motion of more than one line of oars.]

Vossius, quoted at great length in the *History of Marine Architecture*, commences a dissertation on the position and management of the rowers, by observing, that the coins of the ancients afford little illustration of the figures of either the Trireme or the Liburna; because they seldom represent more than one tier of oars; and this is ascribed rather to the smallness of the coin, than the truth of the picture. On a coin, however, of the emperor Gordian, two tiers are very conspicuous. The Trajan column, and other relics of antiquity, present proofs of three tiers of oars placed obliquely above each other. Vossius adopts the opinion of Pollux, a Greek writer in the reign of Commodus, that no vessel had more than seven tiers of oars.

To discover how many benches of oars were in a ship of the largest rate, and how many rowers could conveniently sit on each, let us take, proposes Vossius, fifty-seven feet, the greatest recorded length of an oar. The best informed

respecting ancient naval tactics appear to consider, that one-third of the oar's length was required within board, giving nineteen feet from the fulcrum to the end of the handle. In modern galleys, the following is the arrangement. If seventeen spans of oar be within board, ten spans nearest the end are allotted to the rowers, and seven spans thence to the row-port are left vacant, as labour is of small effect near the fulcrum. Hesychius, explaining the term ἑπταπόδες, used by Homer for a seat seven feet in length, containing five rowers, adds, that such a seat required the handle of the oar to be twelve feet from the row-port. In modern galleys, the space allotted to each rower is about eighteen inches. In the lower tiers, as the oar decreased in size, so decreased the distance of the handle from the fulcrum, and the number of men required to work it. In the first tier an oar occupied one man; in the second, two men; the third, four; the fourth, six; the fifth, eight; the sixth and seventh, each ten men.

Vossius supposes the seats of the rowers in the same tier to have been seven feet distant from those at the next oar; the second tier, about two feet above the first, and the benches two feet four inches more advanced; the third tier about four feet above the first, and four feet eight inches more advanced; thus, benches between which two tiers intervened ranged in a perpendicular right line. [*Stricture.* The vibration of the handles of the long upper oars would sweep above seven feet: the additional space would be afforded, as the men stood to work these, if every gang dipped and pulled back in concert: yet to prevent an accident to one deranging the others, perhaps the distance between the ports ought to be fourteen feet.]

The oars of the seventh tier, Vossius supposes, were worked above the *transtra*, or transoms, beams running across the vessel, and projecting a considerable way from the sides. In the deck laid over the transoms was an aperture larger than the modern hatchway. The deck stretched beyond the side, as far as the transoms, which were supported

by brackets. The row-ports of the seventh tier were at the edge of the external deck; and, by a declination given to this deck, Vossius supposes, that they were not higher from the water than those of the sixth tier, or than about thirteen feet six inches.—The men in the upper tiers stood to work the oars.

The sides of modern galleys rake upward in an angle of nearly 45 degrees: this fact countenances the supposition, that the sides of ancient galleys had the same construction; a construction which would facilitate the working of multiple tiers of oars [and by increasing the space within board upward, would permit the internal ends of the benches to range in a perpendicular line.]

Meibonius describes the Roman Triremes, before an alteration made in them by Julius Cæsar, to have been one hundred and five feet long, and eleven broad; the Quadriremes, one hundred and twenty-five feet long; and thirteen broad: The Hexereme, from the deck to the lower edge of the keel, to have measured nine feet; the Octoreme eleven.

[The reader has now before him an epitome of General Melvill's chequered disposition of the row-ports; the oblique order of Vossius; the hypothesis of *L'Escalier*; and a sufficient notice of the theory which explains the class of an ancient vessel by the number of men stationed at each oar;—with some authentic measurements of ancient galleys. Perhaps the termination *remes* merely imported that the vessel was navigated by rowing; and the prefixes, *Uni—Bi—Tri*, &c., indicated the rate, beginning, contrary to the series in classing modern ships, at the lowest. Thus the Trireme might have but one tier of ports, two degrees higher in the side than the Unireme. The admission of two entire, or three entire, rows of ports, with varieties of elevation, and a gradual augmentation in the size of the oars, might competently explain all the intermediate and largest rates; and perhaps such a distribution of the seats as General Melvill has suggested, is a resource unnecessary below the Septireme, and that of Vossius below the Decereme.]

[L.] *On the Frontier Rivers of the Persian Empire.*

P. 379.—"Alexander had still to force the Euphrates, the "Tigris, the ARAXES, and the HYDASPES, those great breast-"works of the Persian empire."]—M. Sainte-Croix, author of the *Examen Critique des Historiens d'Alexandre,* 2d edit. pp. 675, 676, adduces this passage of Curtius, as an example of the fallacious ideas which the Ancient Historians and Geographers entertained and disseminated as to the relative situation of some of the great rivers of Asia with which they ought to have been better acquainted. At first view, the Translator of Curtius was inclined to subscribe to the justness of the censure pronounced on this particular passage; and admitting that the historian intended to enumerate the principal rivers which Alexander would have to pass *in succession* in his progress from Syria to the capital cities and provinces of Persia, the Translator was ready to propose, as a necessary correction of the text, to read the *Choaspes* and the *Arosis,* in place of the *Araxes* and the *Hydaspes,* because, since those two rivers intervene, as natural defences in the way to SUSA and PERSEPOLIS, the substitution of their names seemed an easy and sufficient emendation. But on reconsideration, taking the letter as one of Darius, preserved by history, the Translator sees nothing of absurdity, but rather a substantial degree of propriety and force in leading Alexander's mind to the probable obstacles which he would have to encounter at two of the most remote frontiers, as well as at the nearest barrier of the dominions then remaining to the Persian king. It is true, that Alexander eventually was not obliged to penetrate in person to that Araxes which runs into the Caspian sea, but received the submission of the tribes and provinces in that quarter by his lieutenants. But had not Darius been prematurely paralysed in his plans of resistance, and suddenly crushed by domestic treason, he might have retired with the remains of his army beyond that Araxes at one extreme

point, or the Hydaspes at another, and have found either in the valleys of the Western Caucasus, or the plains of India, faithful adherents and willing allies; and while the progress of the enemy was arrested, have prepared for reäction with fresh levies. Seeing that the historian, in tracing the subsequent operations of Alexander, mentions the Hydaspes in its proper order, as the next river in the Punjâb after the Indus,—it is absurd to suppose him to have been ignorant that the Hydaspes was in India.

The whole tenor of the letter, the reader will perceive, is to present the difficulty of a circuit round the empire's boundaries. Papers of this kind, when they are the records of a real correspondence, the more they are compared with facts derived from other sources, the more they are confirmed. Darius avows, that some of his subjects were known to himself only by their names. The British envoy to the Court of Peshawer, speaking of the *Caufirs*—who occupy a great part of the range of Hindoo Cos, and a portion of Beloot Taugh—says: "The people have no general name "for their nation. Each tribe has its peculiar name. The "appellation by which they are known to us, is merely an "epithet given by the Mussulmauns, signifying Infidel."—ELPHINSTONE'S *Caubul*, p. 619.

[M]. *On the Oases of Ammon.*

P. 394.—"*We hesitate to believe*," &c. P. 396.—"*In the "bosom of a second grove of Hammon.*"]—Notices of four of the villages attributed to the Oasis of Hammon, or which might have been dependencies of it when it was the seat of a petty monarchy, are annexed. It appears from *Herodotus, Melpom.* 181, that the territories of ancient Hammon extended to spots lying on the radii of a considerable circle round the temple; for the territories of the Ammonians are

there said to be but ten days' journey from the Egyptian Thebes: whereas the chief *Oasis* was more than twice that distance from that point. Among the moderns, the celebrated traveller, W. G. Browne, led the way in endeavouring to discover the site of Libyan Ammon. Mr. Browne set out from ALEXANDRIA, with the design of reaching the Oasis of Ammon, by travelling as near as might be in the same line of direction described by ancient historians to have been taken by Alexander. Accordingly he went along the coast, WESTWARD, to a station about twenty miles short of Al Bareton, (the ancient Parætonium). His going no farther west was a slight deviation from Alexander's route. He then struck inland to the SSW.; and afterwards inclined to the SW.: the entire bearing from the coast was SOUTH 19 W. On the first line, along the coast, he travelled 75½ hours, and on the latter 62¼; these sums are estimated by the pace of the camels; which may be turned into road distance at the rate of 2½ British miles per hour. At the end of the boldly-deflected line, approaching a right-angle, thus traced, this intelligent traveller came to an Oasis, to which the modern town situated in it gives the name of Siwah; the lat. of Siwah by Mr. Browne's observation is 29°. 12′; and the long. as calculated by Major Rennell, on the comparison of several routes, is 26°. 21′. 30,″ which may be reduced to the long. of ancient maps, by adding the difference between Greenwich and Ferro Isle = together 44°. 15′. This position Major Rennell finds to agree with all that the Ancients, and the Arabian writers of the middle ages, have handed down respecting the position of the Oasis of Jupiter Ammon: nevertheless Mr. Browne disclaims, in his book, any intention of identifying the architectural remains which he found there with the ancient temple which was the object of his research. When the many existing points of local resemblance in the *oases* themselves are considered, there will appear an excess of candour in this disavowal, if it be extended beyond the mere point, that the present ruins do not seem at first view to

correspond in magnitude with the classical descriptions of that edifice. But, after the revolutions of power, and migrations of people, which have occurred in the interval of two-and-twenty centuries,—who can expect that a temple, falling into the hands of professors of other religions, of whom the latest masters have been celebrated for their fierce hostility to idol-worship, should not have had its most characteristic relics destroyed by systematic dilapidations?—not to mention that, without this powerful incentive to destruction, under a scarcity of building materials, the ruins of ancient structures are not regarded by simple tribes with the feelings of antiquaries.

Major Pennell, comparing several extracts from the ancient writers with Mr. Browne's narrative, unfolds many striking points in which the descriptions coincide.

Diodorus (lib. XVII. c. 5.) says, "that the Oasis of "Ammon is 50 stadia in "length, and the same in "breadth."—Arrian (lib. iii.) says, "little more than 40. "It lies in the midst of an "extensive and arid desart."

Mr. Browne (p. 23,) says: "The Oasis which contains "the town of Siwa is about "6 miles long, and 4½ or 5 "wide." And (p. 17) "Siwa "answers the description "given of the Oases, being a "small fertile spot surround-"ed on all sides by desart "land."

"It is full of pleasant foun-"tains watered with running "streams, and planted with "all kinds of trees; most of "them bearing fruit." (Diodorus.)

"Water, both salt and "fresh, abounds: but the "springs which furnish the "latter are most of them "tepid." (P. 24.)

"It is planted with *olive* "and *palm* trees, and watered "with dews." (Arrian.)

"A large proportion of the "space is filled with date "trees *(palms)*; but there "are also pomegranates, figs,

"It is watered with *many* "streams, and *encompassed*

"and *olives*, apricots and "plantains; and the gardens

" with trees, that grew so " thick as to screen it on all " sides from the rays of the " sun." (Curtius, lib. IV. c. 7.)

And, " The temple and " palace stand in the middle " of a wood: and in a second " wood, is the Fountain of " the Sun." (Ib.)

Strabo only speaks generally of its abounding with *water* and palms. Page 838.

" In the middle of the sa- " cred grove inhabited by the " Ammonians, is a castle for- " tified with a triple wall, &c. " containing the temple, pa- " lace, and a place of arms: " and not far from the castle " stands ANOTHER temple of " Ammon," [*the correctness of this Major Rennell questions, remarking that Diodorus alone speaks of a second temple*] " shaded round with " many fruit trees; next to " which is a fountain called " *Solis*," &c. (Diodorus.)

Herodotus speaks of the temple, the oracle, and the kingdom of Ammon, in different places: as in Euterpe, 32, 42, 55: Melpom. 181.

" are remarkably flourishing. " —They cultivate a consider- " able quantity of rice:—the " remainder of the cultiva- " ble land furnishes wheat " enough for the inhabitants." (P. 23, 24.)

—" It was about half an " hour from the time of our " entering on this territory, " by a path *surrounded* with " *date trees*, that we came to " the *town*, which gives name " to the district. (P. 17.)

" We passed along some " shady paths between gar- " dens, till at the distance " of about two miles, we ar- " rived at what they called " the *ruins* or *Birbe*." (P. 19.)

" It resembles too exactly " those of the Upper Egypt, " to leave a doubt that it was " erected and adorned by the " same intelligent race of " men. The figures of Isis " and Anubis are conspicu- " ous amongst the sculptures: " and the proportions are " those of the Egyptian tem- " ples, though in miniature." (P. 27.) " It is built of " massy stones, of the same " kind as those of which " the Pyramids consist."—

" The Egyptians call Jupiter, " AMMON: and the oracle " of the temple dedicated to " the Libyan Jove, was es- " tablished at the same time " with that of Dodona:" Euterpe, 54, 55.

Diodorus says, (XVII. 5.) " It was reported that this " temple was built by Danaus " the Egyptian."

Herodotus and Strabo speak generally of the saltness of the soil of the surrounding desart region.

Arrian says, that the country about Ammon produces a kind of fossil salt. (lib. iii.)

" The Ammonians are com- " posed partly of EGYPTIANS,

(P. 19.)—" The length is 32 " feet in the clear, the height " about 18, the width 15. " The rocks which I saw in " the neighbourhood, being of " a sandy stone, bear so little " resemblance to that which " is employed in this fabric, " that I am inclined to believe " the materials cannot have " been prepared on the spot." (P. 28.)

" The soil around seems to " indicate that *other buildings* " have once existed near the " place; the materials of which " either time has levelled with " the soil, or the natives have " applied to other purposes. " I observed, indeed, some " *hewn stones* wrought in the " walls of the modern build- " ings." (P. 20.)

" Approaching Siwa, I ob- " served through a large por- " tion of the road, that the " surface of the earth is per- " fectly covered with salt."— (P. 17.)—" After the rains " the ground in the neigh- " bourhood of Siwa, is cover- " ed with salt for many " weeks." (P. 26.)

" The *complexion* of the " people is generally darker

" and partly of ETHIOPIANS;
" and their dialect is formed
" promiscuously of both these
" languages." (Herodotus, Euterp, 42.)

" than that of the Egyptians.
" Their *dialect* is different.
" Among those whose *cos-*
" *tume* was discernible, it ap-
" proaches nearer to that of the
" Arabs of the Desart, than
" of the Egyptians or Moors."

Mr. Browne also visited some existing *catacombs*, about 30 in number, in a rocky hill close to the Oasis of Siwa. (P. 21.)

The Geography of Herodotus explained by JAMES RENNELL, *F. R. S. late Major of Engineers and Surveyor-general in Bengal.* London, 4to. 1800. pp. 571 . . . . . 589.

Mr. Browne distinctly states, that he did not consider the small edifice described in the preceding extracts to be the far-famed temple of Jupiter Ammon; nor with the utmost information that he could obtain from the natives, or the Arabs, in answer to his inquiries; nor after examining a place called Araschie, two days' journey to the west, which proved not to be an *Oasis*, could he find any more considerable ruins that might help to fix the position of the temple.—*Travels in Africa, Egypt, and Syria, from the year* 1792 *to* 1798. By W. G. BROWNE, 4to. *London*, 1799, *pp.* 22..29.

In the year 1798 another traveller of considerable repute, who went out under the patronage of the Society for exploring the interior of Africa, Frederick Hornéman, visited Siwah. He reached it by an entirely different route from Mr. Browne, going thither from Cairo. His Journal supplies some interesting additions to the information communicated by Mr. Browne. He says: " Siwah is a small independent " state; it acknowledges indeed the Grand Sultan paramount,

" but it pays him no tribute. Round its chief town, called " Siwah, are situate at one or two miles distance, the villages " of *Sharkie* (in the Siwahan dialect termed *Agermie*), *Msel-* " *lem*, *Monachie*, *Shocka*, and *Barisha*. Siwah is built upon, " and round, a mass of rock; in which, according to tradi- " tion, the ancient people had only caves for their habitation. " Indeed the style of building is such, that the actual houses " might be taken for caves; they are raised so close to each " other, that many of the streets, even at noon, are dark, and " so intricate, that a stranger cannot find his way into or out " of the town, small as it is, without a guide. Many of the " houses built on the declivity of the rock, and especially " those terminating the descent toward the plain, are of more " than ordinary height, and their walls particularly thick and " strong, so as to form a circumvallation of defence to the " town within.

" The people of our caravan compared Siwah to a bee- " hive; and the comparison is suitable, whether regarding " the general appearance of the eminence thus covered with " buildings,—the swarm of its people crowded together,—or " the confused noise, or hum and buz, from its narrow pas- " sages and streets."—*The Journal of* FREDERICK HORNE- MAN'S *Travels from Cairo to Mourzouk, in the years* 1797-8. *London*, 4*to.* 1802, *p.* 14.

" The territory of Siwah is of considerable extent: its " principal and most fertile district is a well-watered valley " of about fifty miles in circuit, hemmed in by steep and " barren rocks. Its soil is a sandy loam, in some places " rather poached, or fenny; but, assisted by no great industry " of the natives, produces corn, oil, and vegetables for the " use of man or beast. Its chief produce, however, consists " in dates, proverbial for their excellent flavour." p. 15.

" I first visited the ruins of the extensive edifice before " observed. I accosted some men working in the gardens " near, and questioned them as to what they knew of this " building: they answered, ' that in former times Siwah was

" inhabited by infidels, most of whom lived in caves, but " some inhabited these buildings.'" p. 21. " When I en- " tered the place, I was followed by all the people near, and " thus prevented examining the place with any accuracy. " On a second visit I was not more successful; and when, " after a few days, I returned thither again, some Siwahans " directly said to me, 'Thou undoubtedly art yet a Christian " in thine heart, else why come so often to visit these works " of Infidels?'" p. 21.

" *Ummebeda* (the name given to the site of these ruins " by the natives) lies near a village called SCHARKIE, or " AGERMIE, between that place and an isolated mountain, " on which a copious spring of fresh water is said to rise." ..... " I ascertained the general bearings of the building " by my compass, and found the outward walls constructed " with aspects facing the four cardinal points, the aberration " being only twelve degrees. The total circumference may " be several hundred yards, and is to be traced out and " followed by the foundations of a wall, in most parts visible, " and which from the masses remaining, appears to have " been *very strong*. The outward wall, in most places, has " been thrown down, and the materials carried away, and the " interior ground has been everywhere turned up, and dug, in " search of treasure." p. 22.

M. Hornéman then describes the remains of an edifice in the centre of this area, the dimensions of which differ in all the separate sums from those assigned to the building by Mr. Browne, as the following comparison will shew:

	length in feet.	width.	height.
By Mr. Browne	32	15	18
By Mr. Hornéman	30 to 36	24	27

M. Hornéman informs us that he was successively interrupted on entering the area of these ruins; and was prevented by the jealousy of the natives from accurately examining or measuring what is extant of the principal edifice. His dimen-

sions are therefore to be taken as the result of computation on a hasty view; and, it is to be presumed, from without, which includes the thickness of the walls. Mr. Browne expressly tells us, that he took his measurements in the *clear*, inside the building. With this explanation, as both travellers assign a massy solidity to the walls, the difference between the admeasured and the computed dimensions may be reconciled.

It would be surprising if Hornéman's details in figures were uniformly accurate; since, on a subsequent occasion, when danger was apprehended from the natives discovering him to be a Christian, he unfortunately lost his notes, through his interpreter ordering a slave to hide them in a bog. Hornéman says: "I am conscious that the above description of the remains of antiquity near Siwah, is by far too "cursory and incomplete, for any purpose of just and "accurate inference; and that it must yet remain a mere "conjecture, whether these ruins are those of the famous "*Temple of Jupiter Ammon.* Supposing, on reference to "ancient writers, the comparison of the buildings not to bear "me out in the idea which I entertain; yet on many other "grounds I should contend, that Siwah had been a residence "of the ancient Ammonians. I draw my conclusion from "the relative situation of the country; from the quality of "the soil, from its fertility; from the information of the inhabitants, that no other such fruitful tract is to be found "anywhere near*; and in addition to the "certainty—at least—that some great and "magnificent building once here stood, I "draw a further conclusion from the numerous catacombs to be found in the vicinity." In fine, M. Hornéman states his opinion to be, that these ruins *may be* the remains of the Temple of Jupiter Ammon. p. 25.

* This does not prove to be correct, unless the line of fertile vallies can be so extended as to preserve a continuity with the *oasis* visited by Belzoni, the contrary of which the narratives of both travellers seem to indicate.

In the APPENDIX No. I. to *Hornéman's Travels*, is a Paper entitled "*Observations on F. Hornéman's Description*

" of the Country and Antiquities of Siwah, with Reference " to Ancient Accounts of the Oasis and Temple of Ammon. " By Sir William Young, Bart. Secretary." [That is, *Secretary to the Society for exploring the Interior of Africa.*]

This paper is dedicated to the examination of two points. 1. Some apparent discrepancies in Hornéman's Notes from the accounts of the modern writers cited by Rennell, including the traveller, Browne. And, 2. The coincidences to be found in ancient Authors with the essential parts of both his and Mr. Browne's statements,

Hornéman states *" the principal and fertile territory of " Siwah to be fifty miles in extent."* He names all the towns within the territory of Siwah, *Sharkie, Msellem, Monachie, Shocka,* and *Barisha;* and he places all these villages, or towns, within *one or two miles* of Siwah, the capital. Hence, the Secretary to the African Society argues that Hornéman is inconsistent with himself; and that he must be mistaken, in assigning a circuit to the territory of Siwah, which is nearly treble the extent attributed to the *oasis* by Browne. Without entering into details, the Translator of Curtius begs leave here to remark, that perhaps some of the villages, subsequently visited by Belzoni, and which neither Browne nor Hornéman saw, might be included by the natives as ancient dependencies of the principal oasis, when they communicated to Hornéman the estimated extent of the Greater Oasis, or of the *Archipelago of fertile islands in that sea of desert connected with Siwah.*

Respecting the position of the country within which the renowned temple of Ammon was erected, Sir William Young considers that question as concluded by the acute and learned comment on the Geography of Herodotus, by Major Rennell; and that the facts, the arguments, and inferences in that admirable work, indisputably shew the Oasis of Siwah to have been the Oasis of Ammon. *Hornéman's Travels.* p. 83.

Comparing Hornéman's Notes with ancient accounts, the Secretary to the African Society then adverts to circumstances exclusively noticed by Hornéman.

1. In that part of Hornéman's description, where he mentions *the different levels of the basement or floor of the ancient edifice at Siwah*, the learned Secretary discovers vestiges of the *Adytum*, a kind of crypt or concealed recess, which formed a necessary appendage to the oracular temples of antiquity. pp. 84 . . . 87.

2. Then as to the smallness of the temple, and the plainness of the architecture; circumstances which induce both Browne and Hornéman to hesitate in believing that they had found the remains of the identical temple of Jupiter Ammon:—the learned Secretary adduces, from classic authors, several notices of ancient Egyptian temples, sufficient to shew that the architecture of some of the most famous exhibited a style of rude simplicity. pp. 87, 88.

Sir William Young further deduces, from comparing the ancient accounts, that Alexander alone entered the building, and that his attendants heard the oracle from without; hence he infers, that the temple of Jupiter Ammon may be presumed to have been of small dimensions. p. 88.

The learned Secretary cites some other circumstances of close agreement; particularly in the foundation traced by Hornéman of an outward inclosure, consisting of a strong and massive wall; and the strong circumvallation which both Diodorus and Curtius describe as a species of fortress protecting the ancient temple. pp. 89, 90.

In regard, however, to the "*spring of fresh water which* "*takes its rise in a grove of date trees, and in a most romantic* "*and beautiful situation:*" which was shewn to Hornéman at the distance of half a mile from the ruins:—the Translator of Curtius cannot agree with the Author of the Paper, that "this description precisely answers to that of the *Fountain* "*of the Sun*, mentioned by ancient writers." On the contrary, he cannot but view it as too vague, loose, and indistinct,

to afford any basis for a claim to identity; being, in regard to the interesting point of temperature, which is the chief criterion, quite featureless and defective.

In 1815, Belzoni, the most recent of the travellers who have entered the heart of the Lybian desart, to discover, if possible, the site of the temple, examined three *oases* situate more to the east.

The Elloah of Zaboo was the first village which this enterprizing antiquary visited. He went thither from Benisouef, by the way of the Lake Mœris. He terms this secluded garden, to which the almost impassable desart surrounding it serves as a fortress, an Elysium. A few Bedoweens sometimes travel thither to purchase dates, which are very fine. He next proceeded to El Cassar, distant only three hours' journey from Zaboo. Describing the face of the contiguous territory, he says: "From the summits of the rocks which separate "the two villages, I had a fine view of the site of the *elloah*, "and on the side of El Cassar the country was most pleasant. "A FOREST OF PALM-TREES SURROUNDED THE VILLAGE*, stretching over a "wide circuit, which included a great space "of cultivable lands. My next point was "the well of warm and cold water which I "had heard talked of by my guide. I found it to be a well "eight feet square, and about sixty deep. When I first put "my hand into this water I felt it warm; it was then after "sun-set: it springs from the bottom of the well, and over-"flows in a rivulet which runs to irrigate some cultivated "lands. This well is situated near the ruins," [which another extract will describe,] "IN THE CENTRE OF A "BEAUTIFUL WOOD OF PALMS AND OTHER TREES. The "water is blackish, but perhaps this is owing to the soil." ..... "Our next visit was to be made at midnight, to "observe the difference of the temperature of the water. I "found the water apparently much warmer than we had left "it in the evening; and indeed I regretted I had broken my

* Compare with the words of Curtius, "IN "A SECOND GROVE "OF HAMMON WAS "THE FOUNTAIN OF "THE SUN."

" thermometer. Early in the morning, before the sun, we " went to the fountain again. I found the water rather less " warm than I had left it at midnight, but still at a higher " temperature than in the evening. For instance, if we were " to suppose the water to have been at 60°. in the evening, " it might be at 100°. at midnight, and in the morning at " about 80°.; but when I returned at noon, it appeared quite " cold, and might be calculated in proportion to the other " at 40°."—*Narrative of Operations and Recent Discoveries in Egypt, Nubia, &c. by* G. BELZONI. 4to, London, 1820. *pp.* 403, 410, 416, 421 . . . 423.

It deserves particular remark, that the gradations of Belzoni's scale, as well as he could fill them up without a thermometer, closely agree, both in the times and proportions, with the alternations of heat and cold assigned to the fountain by Curtius, book IV. chap. vii. § 30. Our historian's account substantially coincides with that of Herodotus, except that the "*fervide exæstuat*" of Curtius is not necessarily to be construed as amounting to "boiling heat." "The Ammo- " nians have also a fountain of water, which at the dawn of " morning is warm; as the day advances it chills, and at noon " becomes excessively cold. When it is at the coldest point " they use it to water their gardens: as the day declines its " coldness diminishes; at sunset it is again warm; and its " warmth gradually increases till midnight, when it is abso- " lutely in a boiling state. After this period, as the morning " advances, it grows again progressively colder. This is " called the Fountain of the Sun."—BELOE's *Herodotus, Melpomene*, 181.

The passages in Ovid and Pliny, already referred to, do not individually embrace the changes of temperature at all the cardinal divisions of the day; but together they make up the more detailed description which is found, with little variation, in Herodotus, Diodorus, Curtius, and Arrian.

" Thy stream, O horn-crown'd Ammon, in the midst,
Chills us at noon, but warms at morn and eve."

Ovid, as cited in Good's Lucretius.

" The fountain of Jupiter Hammon, in the day-time is cold; " at night it is seething hot."—HOLLAND'S *Pliny*.

The elegant description of Silius Italicus corresponds so closely with the prose one of Curtius, as to require no translation; and the word " fervet" is applied by both to the time of the highest degree of heat.

> Stat fano vicina (novum et memorabile!) lympha,
> Quæ, nascente die, quæ deficiente tepescit,
> Quæque riget medius cum Sol accendit Olympum,
> Atque eadem rursum nocturnis fervet in umbris. iii. 669.

It is remarkable, that Belzoni misquotes Herodotus, to whom alone of all the ancient writers he refers; he represents him as saying, that the fountain of the sun " was cold both " at noon and MIDNIGHT, and warm in the morning and " evening." This unaccountable mistake, by omitting the most wonderful in the series of vicissitudes, perplexes the traveller with an appearance of discrepancy in a case where the evidence of identity is complete.

On the other hand, if we revert to the Oasis of Siwah, to see if any traces of the spring sacred to the sun from all antiquity are extant there:—Mr. Browne saw nothing himself, on which to offer a claim of identity. And the following mention of a spring, from hearsay, is too loose and feeble in its features for any satisfactory comparison. " One of those springs " which rises near the building described, is observed by the " natives to be sometimes *cold*, and sometimes warm."—BROWNE'S *Journey*, *p.* 24.

Having examined Zaboo and El Cassar, Belzoni was desirous next to penetrate to the Elloah of Siwah, distant four days' journey from Zaboo; but was unable to prevail upon his guide to take him thither.

Adverting to the ruins which both Browne and Hornéman examined at Siwah,—Belzoni hardly does justice to the modesty which induced them to hesitate in expressing a positive opinion, that they were the remains of the temple of Jupiter Ammon: when he represents them as pronouncing

of the temple at present to be seen there, that it is not that of Jupiter Ammon. And yet, with respect to the rival claims of Siwah and El Cassar to be considered the seat of this far-famed oracle, Belzoni candidly admits, that—combining such ruins as he saw at El Cassar, with the existence there of the Fountain of the Sun—Siwah, which he did not visit, has at least equal pretensions. "At El Cassar," he says, "all I "observed was apparently the vast ruins of a great edifice, "covered with the mud cottages which formed the village; "and [I imagine] that the standing part of a temple was built "by later nations, and that the materials of the former "temple have been employed to erect the latter, but the "stones have been diminished in size."

As Mr. Belzoni found the Fountain of the Sun in El Cassar, that local appropriation is evidence that El Cassar could not have been the seat of the oracle; for Curtius, after describing the principal *oasis*, with the temple and its walled inclosure, distinctly says: "In another grove of Hammon "is the Fountain of the Sun."

The result of the attention which the Translator of Curtius has given to the accounts of the three travellers, is—a forcible persuasion, that the ruins at Siwah are those of the temple of Jupiter Ammon; and that the well having diurnal vicissitudes of temperature at El Cassar is the Fountain of the Sun; also, that the temple here is the second temple mentioned by Diodorus, a building quite distinct from the seat of the oracle.

From El Cassar Mr. Belzoni proceeded to the *elloah* of El Haix, distant three days, in a south-west direction. It is a long tract of land, forming a crescent of more than twenty miles from one point to the other. It contains various spots of ground which repay cultivation, and springs of good water. pp. 404, 405. Thus, there is a cluster of *oases* in the vicinity.

As there are more than one route to the *Oasis* of Hammon, by which did Alexander return? Arrian tells us, that Aristobulus represents Alexander to have returned to Egypt

the same way he went; and that, on the contrary, Ptolemy conducts him back, by a much nearer way, leading to Memphis. M. Barbié du Bocage asks: "How is it, that "two writers, who were equally companions of the prince, "should differ so widely respecting a fact, which either "might have ascertained so as to exclude doubt?" He then answers his own question, by supposing, that Arrian did not understand the Memoir of Ptolemy in this particular; and finding Memphis the first place mentioned on the king's return, MADE THE ASSUMPTION, *that Ptolemy stated that Alexander went back that way.* But this is to concede credit to Arrian—neither for discernment, nor truth. The objection must rather go to invalidate the high pretension to accuracy of one of the primary writers; and reasons have been given in the revised Supplement to Curtius, book I. p. 2, and ADD. NOTE [C], for preferring Ptolemy to Aristobulus.

Pliny, lib. v. c. 9, reckons the distance from Memphis to the temple of Jupiter Ammon, by the most direct route, to be twelve days' journey across the desart. M. Barbié du Bocage, after citing this, asks a second question: "Can any one be- "lieve, that the Macedonians, who had experienced excessive "fatigue in a march of four days by one arid desart, would "prefer to return by another route, lasting twelve days, "through the same desart?"—*Examen Critique des Historiens d'Alexandre, p.* 809. This general objection takes no cognizance of local circumstances, and relative considerations; which, when supplied, will diminish its weight. 1. The four days thither of Alexander from Parætonium were forced marches; Pliny's twelve days from Memphis are common journeys. 2. Political and Military considerations presented inducements for exploring the country in that direction, to see the nature of the commerce between Memphis and Ammon. 3. The traveller, Hornéman, in 1798, came from Cairo, with a caravan, to the principal *oasis* by this very route from which the Macedonian hero is supposed to have shrunk. The following extract from Horné-

man's Diary makes the entire distance 119½ hours = 300 miles. This more direct line is 18 hours = 45 miles less, than by the right-angled tract from Alexandria: deducting the fertile territory at each end, the passage through the main desart is about ten hours longer; and this is compensated by the more frequent stations where water can be had.

Sept. 5.—The whole caravan, after assembling at the place of rendezvous near Cairo, marched 1 hour.

6.—Second day, 12 hours.

7.—Third day, 4 hours. *Watering place*, 4 hours.

8.—Fourth day. Entered the desart, which may be called the boundary of Egypt, 13 hours.

9.—Fifth day, 4½ hours. *Watering place*, on the verge of a fruitful valley.

10.—Sixth day, 12 hours.

11.—Seventh day, 4 hours. *Watering place.*

12. 13. 14. Eighth, ninth and tenth days, 40 hours, travelling occasionally in the night. On the eighth day reached a chain of hills with salt table-lands.

15.—Eleventh day, 5 hours. A small village, with a cultivated spot, and *watering place*. Halted here some days.

Date omitted. Twelfth and thirteenth days, 20 hours. Passed the skirts of a sandy plain, and trascended some mountains, at the foot of which is a green and fertile valley which extends to Siwah.—*Travels*, pp. 1....13.

Deducting the first day, which was spent in assembling the caravan, Pliny's twelve days are exactly made out.

Curtius mentions the lake Mareotis as the first scene of any important transaction after Alexander had returned; from which M. Barbié du Bocage infers, that our historian would represent the king to have come back, as he went, by the sea-coast from Parætonium. But this is a gratuitous assumption. The fact is, Curtius gives no positive indication which way Alexander returned; he might think this silence better than deciding on adverse information with imperfect maps; a course which he has pursued in more than one instance where there is an irreconcilable conflict between the primary authorities.

[N]. *Passage of the* TIGRIS.—*Site of* NINEVEH.

P. 407.—"On the fourth day, he gains the bank of the "Tigris, higher up than Arbela."]—Strabo makes the travelling distance between Thapsacus and the ancient ford on the Tigris 1400 stadia. The commentators on Curtius have doubted whether Alexander could traverse this space in four days. The Translator does not apprehend Curtius to affirm that he did, but that, having moved for some days with moderated progress, he passed the remaining distance in four days.

A ford near the modern town of Mosul has usually been assigned, by Niebuhr and others, as the point where Alexander crossed. The horizontal distance from Thapsacus to Mosul, is about 165 miles; and when the levels of Mesopotamia were fertile and inhabited, the travelling distance might not be much greater. Capt. Macdonald Kinneir, however, who has traversed the field of battle, is of opinion that Alexander crossed higher up than Mosul; at a ford called Eski Mosul; since it is the only spot between Jezira and Mosul where the river can be forded at this season of the year (Aug. 3.)—KINNEIR'S *Journey through Asia Minor, Armenia, and Koordistan*, p. 45. The Translator has merely to remark on this question: 1. The different time of Alexander's crossing—the interval between August 3, and Sept. 18, being 46 days—might possibly leave a practicable ford for Alexander at a lower point of the river, as the melted snow from the mountain-peaks, which helps to increase its volume, would then flow in diminished streams. 2. The numerous canals, by which the waters of the Tigris were anciently led over the plains of Mesopotamia for irrigation, might have concurred to keep the level of the river much lower than it is at the present day. But Alexander, designing an improvement, to make the Tigris navigable, removed the dams and lateral sluices which had transformed the thirsty desart into a garden; and cultivation, deprived of this artificial aid, now obtains no returns from the feverish soil.

Mosul is conjectured to have been the western suburb of Nineveh, separated by the river. "On the opposite bank of "the Tigris, and about three-quarters-of-a-mile from the "waterside, the village of Nunia, and sepulchre of the "prophet Jonah, seem to point out the position of Nineveh. "When visited by Jonah, in the reign of Jeroboam, it was "three days' journey in circumference: and Diodorus Siculus "says, that it was 480 stadia. The history of this metropolis "is lost in succeeding ages: it would seem to have gradually "fallen into decay after the building of Babylon: in the reign "of Adrian, the place where it had stood was unknown."—KINNEIR'S *Geogr. Memoir on Persia*, p. 258.

[O]. *Date of the* BATTLE OF ARBELA fixed by *the previous* ECLIPSE.

P. 410.— . . . . ." about the first watch, the moon became "eclipsed," &c.]—M. de Sainte-Croix, *Examen Critique*, edit. 2de. pp. 616. . . 619, has collected from the historians of Alexander all the direct and indirect notices which conspire to fix the date of the battle. Beginning retrospectively, he cites Arrian, lib. III. cap. 7, as stating that Alexander had reached Thapsacus in the month Hecatombæon, the first of the archonship of Aristophanes, in the second year of the 112th Olympiad: but he adds, that perhaps this author is mistaken in the month. He then cites the passage of Curtius which the present commentary is to illustrate; on which he remarks: "In THESE TRAITS, one may, without difficulty, recognize "Quintus Curtius*. Happily the account "of Plutarch is more simple and more "instructive. 'In the month of Boëdro-"mion,' says he, 'towards the commence-"ment of the mysteries at Athens, there "happened an eclipse of the moon; and on "the eleventh night after this eclipse, the armies were in the "presence of each other. Darius kept his troops under

* It is difficult to answer a sneer: nevertheless, the Translator will endeavour, at the close of this note, to point out ONE or TWO of these traits which are useful guides to enquiry.

" arms, and visited the lines by torchlight.'—*Vit. Alex.*
" Parmenio counselled Alexander to attack the Persians on
" this very night; but this Prince rejected his advice, and
" the battle was not fought until the following day; this was
" the 26th of Boëdromion, according to Plutarch, *Vit. Camill.*
" Now, we know with certainty, that this total eclipse
" happened on the 20th of September, in the Julian year 331,
" before the Christian era,—at half-past seven o'clock in the
" evening.—This era in Chronology, SCALIGER, PETAVIUS,
" and others, have found by retrospective astronomy. The
" month Boëdromion commenced, in this year, on the 8th of
" September; the 13th, therefore, coincides with the 20th of
" September. Recurring to Plutarch's information, that the
" armies came into contact on the eleventh night after the
" eclipse, and that the general action was fought the next day,
" this brings us to the second of October, which corresponds
" with the 25th of Boëdromion. In naming the 26th,
" Plutarch appears to be in error but a single day.

" Arrian does not merit the eulogy of approaching so near
" to positive exactitude. 1. The terms in which he speaks
" of the eclipse, would import that it was *partial* and not
" total; for he unskilfully writes: 'A great part of the
" moon's light failed:' as if her whole face were not eclipsed.
" 2. He assigns the day of the battle to a month in which it
" could not have happened. 'This battle,' says he, 'was
" won, when Aristophanes was archon at Athens, in the
" month *Pyanepsion*.'—lib. III. cap. 15. At Alexander's era,
" Boëdromion was the third month of the Athenian year;
" Pyanepsion the fifth; so that it is not easy to account for
" Arrian's mistake. Pyanepsion did not commence till the
" 27th of November, fifty-six days after the battle. 3. The
" narrative of Arrian implies, that the battle happened *nine*
" days only after the eclipse; which is also incorrect." His separate notices of the time are palpably inconsistent.

The Translator will now specify two points in the description which Curtius has left of the eclipse; which—on a comparative review of the *synchronizing circumstances* contributed

by different historians—seem to entitle him to rank, for the utility of this particular notice, in the second place; assigning, with M. de Sainte-Croix, the first to Plutarch.

1. "About the first watch the moon became eclipsed."—CURTIUS, *Transl. ut supra.* The autumnal equinox did not fall, at that era and latitude, until 27th September; so that on the 20th, the twilight would last till seven o'clock. The first watch would then begin, and end at half-past nine. The time indicated by Curtius, therefore, well agrees with that elicited by retrospective astronomy for the beginning of the eclipse—half-past-seven! 2. "..... tarnished her "WHOLE LIGHT." This implies that the eclipse was total; as the same satisfactory criterion decides it to have been.

"In the midst of a TOTAL lunar eclipse, the moon's disk is "frequently visible, and of a deep red or copperish colour. "This remarkable phenomenon is caused by the sun's lateral "rays, in their passage through the dense atmosphere of the "earth, being inflected into their shadow by refraction, and "falling pretty copiously upon the moon's disk, are reflected "from thence to the eye of the spectator. If the earth had "no atmosphere, the moon's disk would then be as black as "in a solar eclipse."—HALES's *New Analysis of Chronology. London, 4to.* 1809, *vol.* i. *p* 176.

A passage in Cicero, *de Divin.* lib. I. c. 53, would increase the perplexity arising from repugnant statements, did not the marked event contain within itself an index to the truth. "Such "we find that written scheme: *If* the moon a LITTLE BEFORE "SUNRISE *be eclipsed in the sign* LEO,—*it shall happen that* "*Darius, in arms, with his Persians, shall be vanquished in* "*battle by Alexander and his Macedonians; and Darius will* "*meet his death.*" The Author of *Examen Critique*, exposing the futility of this pretended prediction, notices that the Eclipse took place in the EVENING, and that the moon was then under a different sign, PISCES. Cicero had drawn these details from the work of some astrologer; who, being misinformed as to the fact, ignorantly accommodated his scheme of the heavens to the false time and circumstances, to confer undue credit on his vain science.

"Finally," says M. de Sainte-Croix, "the manner in "which Q. Curtius explains this eclipse is remarkable: "*Lunamque deficere quum aut terram subiret, aut sole "premeretur*, &c.—M. Beauzée renders this: 'La Lune "s'eclipse quand elle est cachée par la terre, ou PRIVÉE du "soleil,' &c.:—construing *premeretur* as though it were "*privaretur*. The explication of Q. Curtius, thus turned, "is less ridiculous, without being more exact."

The Author of *Examen Critique*, in throwing out this animadversion, seems to forget, that when Curtius wrote, the science of astronomy had not attained its present state of proficiency. Now let us examine, whether it was absurd for Curtius to assign competing ALTERNATIVES as possible causes for the eclipse. In the English translation, *terram subiret* is rendered, "passes under the shadow of the earth." This is the explication of the phenomenon, according to the system of Pythagoras; which was adopted by Archimedes, but met with little attention in the ancient schools—although in modern times Copernicus has revived, and Newton is generally admitted to have demonstrated it. To do justice to Curtius, we must transfer our thoughts to the ages back, when what is called the Ptolemaic system prevailed; and when the Egyptian system, which had a complicated affinity to some branches of both the others, had also its advocates. Hence Curtius adds: "or is otherwise shut out from the sun." For which of the orbs in the solar system was fixed in the centre, and which revolved round a common centre, the most able philosopher was then incompetent to demonstrate; owing to the imperfect state of the arts subservient to astronomy. In nature there can be but one cause of any identical effect; in the uncertainty of hypothesis, there have been many proposed, all contending to be that single one.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

R. CLAY, PRINTER, DEVONSHIRE-ST. BISHOPSGATE.

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 18 July, 2018